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THE AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON, STEEL AND TIN WORKERS: A STUDY IN TRADE UNIONISM

By

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A DISSERTATION

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PREFACE

This monograph is the outgrowth of an investigation carried on by the author while a member of the Economic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University. The chief documentary sources of information have been the trade-union publications contained in the Johns Hopkins library and the files of the Amalgamated Association. This study of the printed material has, however, been supplemented by intimate association and personal interview with officials of the union and with employers in the iron and steel industry. To these--and to Mr. John Williams, president of the union, and to Mr. M. F. Tighe secretary-treasurer, in particular--the writer feels his deep indebtedness.

The number of references inserted as footnotes is, it is feared, abnormally great; but an endeavor has been made to supply them in each instance in order to show that the statements in the monograph are based upon concrete evidence and, it is believed, actual fact.

The writer especially desires to express his sincere appreciation to Professor Jacob H. Hollander and Professor George E. Barnett, to whom he is conscious that he owes his first practical guidance in economic study.

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PART I

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL

The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin[1] Workers is a trade union which had its genesis in a combination of various organized labor forces of the iron and steel mills of this country about forty years ago. Its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor dates back to December, 1887, and it is still actively connected with that body. The tin workers were incorporated into the body of the organization in the year 1881, when their importance as a distinct class of workmen justified membership with the closely allied group of iron and steel workers. For fifteen years after its formation, the Association increased in strength, numbers and influence. It consisted, in June, 1892, of two hundred and ninety-two lodges in good standing, and about twenty-four thousand taxable members, exclusive of those holding travelling cards. Among its membership have been enrolled some of the ablest labor leaders of the country. Its ranks are filled with skilled men, laborers formerly being admitted only at the discretion of a subordinate lodge, but of late years every

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[1] The word "Tin" was inserted in the late nineties; probably in 1897 was first mention of it made. The President, in his report, addressed the convention as, "The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Tin, and Steel Workers".

effort is being made to bring all classes of workmen under the roof of unionism. The objects of the Association, as set forth in the original constitution, are the elevation of its members, the maintenance of their best interests and the security, by conciliation or by other means that are just and legal, of a fair remuneration to its members for their labor; and it aims to afford mutual protection to members against broken contracts, obnoxious rules, unlawful discharge, or other systems of injustice and oppression.[2] There is no secret about the organization save the pass-word. The officers furnish managers and mill-owners with copies of their by-laws as amended each year, and apprise them of any material change in the government of the order, so that they may have complete knowledge of the laws and rules of the Association.[3]

The great labor contest of 1892, unparalleled in the history of the organization and of great importance in the study of the labor movement and industrial progress in this country, ended disastrously for the Union. This struggle, part strike and part lockout, and having the earmarks of both, took place at Homestead, Pennsylvania, between the Amalgamated Association and the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited, of Pittsburgh, owners of the Homestead Steel Works, at Homestead. The

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[2] Constitution and General Laws Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

[3] Testimony of William Weihe before Sub-Committee in Judiciary of the House of Representatives, July, 1892. Mis.Doc. No. 335, 52 Cong., 1st Sess.

contest was hard fought, but the Union was crushed. Homestead was its Waterloo. The organization never rallied its spent forces from this defeat. Gradually it was driven from one mill and then another, until its complete dethronement in the East was consummated by the year 1901. Today its chief stronghold lies in the iron mills throughout the western section of the country. Its strength numerically is only about one third of what it was in 1892, and its relative importance has waned.

As its name implies, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of the United States is the result of the consolidation of three orders or societies. The present society was organized at Pittsburgh in August, 1876. The unions which were consolidated were known as the United Sons of Vulcan, consisting of boilers and puddlers, the Associated Brotherhood of Iron and Steel Heaters, Rollers and Roughers of the United States, composed of men employed at the furnaces and rolls, and the Iron and Steel Roll Hands' Union, which included in its membership catchers, hookers, helpers, and others engaged about the trains of works. A fourth organization, which figured slightly in the composition of the amalgamated body, though not very influential, was the United Nailers, composed of a few local unions in the nail industry.

Early Union Activity Among the Puddlers.

The Pittsburgh puddlers were the pioneers in the labor movement in the iron industry.[4] Miles S. Humphreys,

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[4] A brief resumé of the history of iron manufacture is as follows: Iron was first manufactured in this country in Lynn, Mass., in 1645, (See Geo. E. McNeill, The Labor Movement, Chap. XI, written by John Jarrett, pp. 268 ff.) the works consisting only of a blast furnace and refinery forge. Iron was not manufactured in Pennsylvania until early in the eighteenth century, when Thomas Rutter built, in 1716, a blomary on Manatawnee Creek in Berks County, about three miles above Pottstown. A blomary is a place in which iron is produced directly from the ore. But Pennsylvania rapidly took the lead in this industry, and in 1759, an English authority (Acrelius) said: "Pennsylvania, in regard to its iron works, is the most advanced of all the American colonies." Improvements in iron manufacture, invented in England early in the seventeenth century, were soon adopted in America. In 1790, Jacob Perkins, of Newburyport, Mass, invented and patented the first nail-cutting machine. Invention stimulated the growth of the iron industry.

In 1817, the first rolling-mill industry in the United States, for puddling and rolling bar iron, was built by Col. Meason, at Plumsock, Fayette County, Pa. Edward Nock introduced the process of pig-boiling into this country in 1837, at the mill of Lorenz and Cuddy, Pittsburgh, Pa. Boiling

who says he "was raised on a lump of ore in a puddle mill", and was elected first president of the Sons of Vulcan, gives an admirable account of conditions which prevailed in the iron rolling-mill industry before there is any record of union activity in the iron trade.[5] The first great strike occurred in 1849, and lasted from the twentieth of December of

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soon superseded puddling; there is now practically no puddling done in this country.

The price paid for boiling in 1837 was $7.00 per ton; for puddling, $4.25. By 1842, boiling was reduced to $5.00 and puddling to $3.50. The first strike of the boilers, on record, was caused by a reduction from $5.50 to $5.00 per ton, in February, 1842. The strike was ended July 9th, by the surrender of the strikers, and $5.00 was paid until 1845. In May of that year, an advance of one dollar per ton was demanded and refused. A strike followed, which ended successfully in the latter part of August, and $6.00 was paid until the close of 1849. Early in 1848, the puddlers at the Phoenixville Rolling Mills, Chester County, Pa., struck against a reduction from $5.00 to $3.50 per ton, but were beaten. In conducting these strikes some form of organization must have been created; but it was probably crude and not permanent.

[5] Pennsylvania Annual Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs, Part 3, Industrial Statistics, 1878--79, pp. 150--151.

that year until the twelfth of the following May.[6] The manufacturers succeeded in forcing the price of puddling below the six dollar mark,[7] but the workmen in this strike learned their first lesson in unionism, the necessity of organization. The puddlers resumed work at $4.50 per ton, greatly depressed and discontented, many scattering to new fields of employment throughout the West. The next decade was a period of frequent bickerings between the men and the employers, due to the mutual distrust and lack of co-operation. When prices fell, manufacturers would seek to secure profits by a reduction of wages, and also "to alter the rules forced upon them in the times of high prices when they were powerless to resist." From 1857 to 1860, puddling ranged from three dollars and fifty cents ($3.50) to four dollars ($4.00) per ton, the lower price being paid in cash, while the higher was in part or in whole paid in store goods.

Such was the condition of the iron trade when the crisis of 1857 befell the country. "Hundreds of thousands" were thrown out of work.[8] No branch of industry seemed to escape unscathed. The iron industry of Pennsylvania was nota-

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[6] Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette, May 30, 1882.

[7] The following was the proposed reduction in the wages of the ironworkers in Pittsburgh: Puddlers, from $4.00 to $3.50 per ton; boilers, $6.00 to $4.50; refiners, $1.00 to $.80; scrappers, $3.75 to $2.50; heaters, $1.37 to $1.00. (McNeill, The Labor Movement, Chap. XI.).

[8] C. F. Dunbar, "Economic Essays", pp. 290-293.

desire for unity of action crystallized into secret meetings of the workmen in the iron mills. The outcome was the genesis of a local union, known as Iron City Forge, on the twelfth day of April, 1858, the members calling themselves "Sons of Vulcan".[10]

The United Sons of Vulcan of the United States.

The Sons of Vulcan is one of the oldest national societies existing in the United States,[11] being perhaps third in date of origin. It was composed of puddlers only. A small band of these workmen habitually met on a Saturday night in a back room of a then popular hostelry in Diamond Alley, Pittsburgh, known as "Our House",[12] to enjoy a friendly chat over a mug of beer. There was no current topic, political, social, or economic, upon which this body of men failed to pass judgment. One question, however, was discussed with great caution, and that was the union of labor. Such activity was regarded by employers as an unpardonable sin, and trade unionists were classed with anarchists and other similar "undesirable citizens".[13]

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[10] National Labor Tribune, August 1, 1874.

[11] The Printers have perhaps the oldest organization of the unions originating in the United States. The convention out of which the International Typographical Union has grown was held December 2, 1850. The national association of Stonecutters may, possibly, however, be as old or older. It had an established position and a regularly published journal by 1857, but the date of its origin is not recorded. The Iron Molders' Union dates from 1859, and the Cigarmakers' from 1864. (See p.9).

bly slow in reviving, and its product in 1858 was estimated at only one-half that of the previous year, the majority of mills being idle from October, 1857, until the following spring. Most industries were tolerably active by mid-summer, except in the production of iron, which did not recover so speedily from the depression of railroad enterprise and from the moderation of the demand made upon it by the other industries upon which it is dependent. Resumption of operations was everywhere retarded by the efforts made to effect a general shortening of the terms of credit.

The oppressions of the panic, incident to the resulting derangement of the wages system,[9] gave birth to union activity. Organization for protection against the encroachments of unprincipled task-masters was effected. The nucleus of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers was formed by a few iron workers in the city of Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh was the center of the heavy iron trade of the country, and the tremendous growth of the iron and steel industry in this section had brought together a large body of trained and skilled workmen, chiefly from the iron working centers of England, Scotland, and Wales. Capital sat in the saddle. Almost total subjection to the fiat of employers obtained. Finally, the men refused longer "to make bricks without straw", and the

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[9] In 1858, Eastern mills were paying $3 per ton for boiling; and for puddling, as low as $2.20. There is one instance in which $1.90 was paid for puddling at Danville, Pa. The pay was generally in store orders. (McNeill, Geo. E., Chap.XI)

Only a select few were admitted to the secret circle. Mathew Haddock, James Davis, Patrick Graham, Hugh Hagan, and Joseph Mellard were among the number who attended the first meetings and championed the cause. Little was done for two years for fear of the inevitable "black list". The Civil War and a favorable tariff in 1861 temporarily revived the iron trade, and simultaneously effected a reorganization of the Sons of Vulcan with Miles Humphreys as "Grand Master". The next year vigorous efforts to extend the limits of the organization were expended, and a national union was formed in Pittsburgh, September 8, 1862. The convention declared that the association should be known as "The Grand Forge of the United States, United Sons of Vulcan". The following officers were elected: Miles S. Humphreys,[14] Grand Master; Patrick Graham, Grand Vulcan; M. Grogan, Secretary; and H. Thompson, Treasurer. At the second annual session, held at Wheeling, W. Va., a constitution and by-laws were adopted.[15]

Joseph D. Weeks claims for the Silk and Fur Hat Finishers' National Association a date of inception earlier than that of the Printers', 1843, and the National Trade Association of Hat Finishers, according to him, had its origin in 1854.

[12] National Labor Tribune, April 21, 1888, p. 1, c.2.

[13] Notwithstanding the moral and legal right of the men to organize, it is with greater hazard that the workmen advocate the cause of unionism in the iron and steel trades of Pittsburgh today than it was in 1858.

[14] Mr. Humphreys was afterwards appointed the Commissioner of Industrial Statistics for the State of Pennsylvania.

[15] McNeill, Geo.E., p. 271.

Local "forges" were instituted east and west, in New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Illinois, and other states. Growth, slow at first, in 1865 became more rapid. The convention of August 5, 7 and 8, 1865, reported the formation of more local forges in the four months preceding than during the entire seven years of its existence.[16] Delegates from five different states were present, and the membership of the union had trebled. The next year travelling organizers were appointed, with Miles Humphreys as leader of the squad. The efforts of the organizers met with exceptional success, largely due to the rise in market prices and the consequent success in the demand for high wages. They travelled throughout the iron manufacturing districts of the country, from Boston to St. Louis, organizing local forges wherever an opportunity was presented. The organizers reported the establishment of a forge in all the mills "with but few exceptions".[17] Nearly a thousand dollars was required to meet the expenses of these itinerant officers. The expenditure was justified by an immediate increase both in number of forges and in membership. Of the thirty-six active forges, all but one sent delegates to the session held in Pittsburgh in 1867.[18] Of these local forges

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[16] Fincher's Trade Review, November 16, 1865, quoted by John Fitch in "The Steel Workers".

[17] Vulcan Record, Volume 1, Number 1, p.8.

[18] No official record of the proceedings of the annual meetings of the National Forge were published until 1867, when the "Vulcan Record" and a "Semi-Annual Record" were issued.

twenty-three sent reports to the national union. These reports showed a total membership of 1514. These were by no means paid-up members,[19] since no adequate force could at this early period be brought to bear upon delinquent tax-payers.

The inability of the national body to provide adequate financial support for members involved in labor difficulties was accompanied by a falling off in membership. Up until 1870, strikes and lockouts were inaugurated solely by the men employed in the mill where the grievance arose, and financed entirely by voluntary subscription. Frequently strikes were lost because the men were starved out through the lack of proper financial aid. The loss of a strike invariably caused the dissolution of the local union. There were eleven such defunct forges on record in 1867, and sixteen the following year. It was a year of hard times, and the active membership was not more than six hundred. When in 1870 the control over strikes became centralized in the national body, and the machinery for the levying and collecting of strike assessments was perfected, the organization experienced a steady and rapid growth. The membership increased to two thousand in 1871, and nearly three and one half thousand in 1873. This was the high water mark. The effects of the panic depleted the ranks of the local unions during the next two years, although new forges were constantly being added from time to

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[19] The funds in the treasury were not sufficient to meet the expenses of the travelling organizers. Mr. Humphreys says he paid a balance of no less than $100.00 out of his own pocket.

time. At the time of the amalgamation in 1876 the Sons of Vulcan was regarded as one of the strongest unions in the United States. The growth of the union may conveniently be observed in the following table:

Table Showing the Growth of the United Sons of Vulcan.

Reported to Convention at:	Yr.	Number active Forges	Total number taxable Members	Number forges sending Reports	Number delegates at Convent'n	Number forges rep'ted	Aver. forge Membship
Pittsburgh	1867*	36#	1514%	23	51	35	65.8
Buffalo	1868	30#	665[1]	20	20	14	33.2
Semi-Annual Report		22	652[1]	19			28.7
Wheeling	1869	24	816	24	29	18	34.0
Semi-Annual Report		26	1083	26			41.6
Harrisburg	1870	33	1265	33	42	27	38.3
Semi-Annual Report		38	1454	38			38.2
Chicago	1871	50	1959	50	60	42	39.2
Semi-Annual Report		54	2191	54			40.5
Covington, (Ky.)	1872	70	2614	69	64	56	37.8
Semi-Annual Report		76"	3095	73			42.4
Troy, (N.Y.)	1873	81	3331	73	88	71	45.6
Semi-Annual Report		92	3048	81			37.6
Youngstown	1874	99	3038	86	81	74	35.3
Semi-Annual Report		99	2485	76			32.7
Philadephia	1875	98	2732	93	73	67	29.3

* No statistics are available for the years previous to 1867.

\# In 1867 there were forges in eleven states. There were eleven forges reported defunct in 1867, and sixteen in 1868, showing a decrease both in number of forges and in membership.

% This number represents the membership enrolled in the books, but they were not all active.

[1] President J. C. Edwards later reported the membership for this year at 583 in June and 677 in December.---" By states there were thirty forges in Pa., 17 in Ohio, and 29 in all other states.

The Grand Forge[20] received no recognition from employers until 1865. Wages had steadily increased since the beginning of the war, and there was no cause for disagreement. The attempt to reduce wages at the close of the war brought the manufacturers into conflict with the union. The principle of unionism was at stake equally as much as the question of wages. The strike lasted eight months, and resulted in advantage to both sides. A scale of wages was devised and agreed upon, based on the selling price of bar iron. This Sliding Scale, made on the 13th of February, 1865, is the first automatic wage regulator in the iron industry, and doubtless the first sliding scale in the country. This scheme by which wages are made to fluctuate in accordance with the price of the product, the adjustments being made bimonthly and wages fixed two months in advance, was inaugurated by the Sons of Vulcan in 1865, and is still in force in the iron trade where the Union is recognized, without substantial modification.

The national officers at first devoted only a portion of their time to the affairs of the organization. They offered their services gratis, and did the work at night, after the day's work in the mill. In 1866, the organizers were paid puddlers' daily wages and travelling expenses, the first money paid out for salaries. Later, the custom of presenting the President with a purse of a

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[20] This title was changed to National Forge at the convention of 1870 in Harrisburg. The titles of the officers were also changed, the Grand Master being designated as "President", and the Grand Vulcan as "Vice President". The office of "Grand Knight" was eliminated.

few hundred dollars at the close of a convention developed. As the Union grew in importance, the duties of the national president demanded his entire attention and a salary was attached to the position. The secretary likewise received pay for his work. In 1874, the duties of secretary were added to those of the president, and the salary was fixed at $1500. The organization was financed by means of a tax, paid semi-annually. The levy for the support of members engaged in a legalized strike was made separately. Up until 1870, this assessment was voluntary. The question of establishing sick and death benefits was discussed in several conventions, but each time the proposition was defeated, the main object of the order being considered the education of the craft and unity of action for the maintenance of fair wages.

The Associated Brotherhood of Iron and Steel Heaters, Rollers, and Roughers of the United States.

The first recorded organization in the finishing trades was a local union instituted in Troy, N.Y., August 6, 1864, known as the "Troy Iron Rollers Association". It was composed of "all rollers, roughers and catchers" having "a practical understanding of the business". M. Maran was elected president and Dennis Lynch corresponding secretary.[21] Early in 1865 the iron rollers of Elmira, New York, organized as the "Iron Mill Rollers

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[21] Fincher's Trade Review, Sept. 17, 1864, p. 63. (Quoted by Fitch).

Union and Benevolent Association".[22]

Trade union activity among the heaters can be traced back as early as 1865. On the 6th of July, 1865, delegates of heaters' unions from different states met in convention at Cleveland, Ohio, for the purpose of "organizing a national union, or more properly, of effecting a more complete national organization". The officers elected represented the different sections of the country, such as Buffalo and Troy, N.Y., Cleveland and Newburgh, Ohio, Indianapolis, Ind., and Chicago, Ill.[23] The trade union directory of Fincher's Trade Review published the card of the "Heaters' Union" of Cleveland, in 1865; and of Heaters' Union No. 2, of Troy, and No. 8, of Pittsburgh, the next year. Although the movement would appear from these facts to have been rather widespread, no continuous record of its existence can be found.

The first permanent local unions of men employed at the furnaces and rolls in the finishing departments originated in Chicago.[24] In 1861, a local lodge of heaters was organized in this city under the name of "The Associated Brotherhood of Iron and Steel Rail Heaters". Other similar local organizations

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[22] Fitch, "Steel Workers", Chapter VIII, p. 81.

[23] Fincher's Trade Review, July 22, 1865, p. 64. (Quoted by Fitch).

[24] National Labor Tribune, April 28, 1888, p. 2. c.1.

sprang up within the next few years, and in August, 1872,[25] nine lodges sent delegates to a national convention assembled in Springfield, Ill. Thomas P. Jones was chosen president, and E. B. Evans secretary, of the convention. The word "Rail" was eliminated from the title of the union, and membership was extended to include heaters in bar, plate, and guide mills.[26] At the second convention, held in Allegheny City, Pa., May 6 to 9, 1873, the brotherhood had 22 lodges and a membership of 480, with lodges in seven states--Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. Thomas P. Jones, of Chicago, was elected worthy grand sire, and James D. Kelley, of Joliet, grand recording secretary. The constitution was amended so as to make rollers and roughers eligible, and the name of the organization was changed to "The Associated Brotherhood of Iron and Steel Heaters, Rollers, and Roughers of the United States."[27]

At the convention of 1874, held from July 7th to the 9th, in Covington, Ky., the report showed 28 lodges and about 700 members. Eight states were represented, Maryland having

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[25] According to Jarrett, (McNeill, p. 277), Friendship Union Lodge of Chicago is the earliest; and it was this lodge that took the initiative steps to form a national union, by calling a convention Aug. 30 and 31, 1872.

[26] Pennsylvania Bureau of Industrial Statistics, 1887, p. G 2.

[27] Workingman's Advocate, June 14, 1873.

been added to the list.[28] Eighteen lodges sent delegates, who represented 476 members. Adam W. Schada, of Bethlehem, Pa., was elected Worthy Grand Sire, Benj. F. Spangler, of Springfield, Ill., Grand Recording Scribe, and Isaac Williams, of Philadelphia, Treasurer. No convention was called for the next year, as the Brotherhood was economizing all its energies with a view to joining in the movement which resulted in the amalgamated union two years later. The convention of 1876, held in Pittsburgh, reported 39 lodges and 886 members. Only eleven lodges, however, with a membership of slightly more than 300 sent representatives to the convention.

The organization lasted only four years. It had few members working east of the Alleghany Mountains. The officers were unsalaried, the president and secretary receiving an occasional donation for their services. The finances of the union were on small scale, its funds never exceeding $500. They were raised by per capita assessment. In case of strikes, voluntary contributions were made for those engaged therein. No sick or death benefits were established, and the legalizing of strikes was left entirely to the local bodies, as was also the adjustment of wages. Internal dissension dissipated much of the energy which should have been devoted to building up a strong organization, and the brotherhood was not as effective as it

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[28] MSS. copy of minutes, and MSS. record of correspondence of Benjamin F. Spangler, Grand Recording Scribe, given by him to the Wisconsin State Historical Society Library, Madison.

might have been. When it was merged with the other two bodies in 1876, the Committee on the State of the Order reported 14 lodges in good standing, numbering 412 members; 16 held charters, but had not been heard from for a year and a half, once having a membership of 500; and three were in good working condition, but in need of financial aid, with 41 members.

Iron and Steel Roll Hands of the United States.

The third organization of iron and steel workers to extend its jurisdiction beyond the control over a single mill or locality was the Iron and Steel Roll Hands' Union of the United States. That there existed a local union in Troy, New York, in 1864, has already been stated.[29] The movement, however, that culminated in a national organization began in a North Chicago mill in 1870.[30] No other organization at this time was open to the full crews who worked at the rolls. The Heaters' Union admitted rollers and roughers in 1873, and to that extent there was an overlapping of jurisdiction; but the Roll Hands' Union admitted all men engaged about the train of rolls--catchers, hookers, straighteners, and buggymen, as well as the rollers and roughers--and was more democratic than the Heaters' Union, which admitted only the highly paid men.[31]

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[29] Above, p. 14.

[30] National Labor Tribune, Apr. 28, 1888, p. 2, c.1.

[31] It was decided at the Covington (Ky.) convention of 1875 to allow a local union "to use its own discretion" as to the admission of a night roller--MSS. Convention Prodeedings, Wisconsin Historical Society.

The Roll Hands formed a national lodge at Springfield, Illinois, June 2, 1873,[32] with 15 lodges and 473 members. Two other lodges were eligible, but not represented. There were nineteen delegates present. Alfred Sowers of Springfield, Ill., was elected president, John W. Fultz vice president, William Houston recording secretary, and Richard Brunt treasurer. The new organization was christened "The National Union of Rollers, Roughers, Catchers, and Hookers of the United States". At the second convention held at Columbus, Ohio, in April, 1874, in view of the admission to the circle of two other classes of workmen, the buggymen and cold straighteners, the name of the association was changed to "The Iron and Steel Roll Hands Union". David A. Plant, of Columbus, was elected president, Wm. Martin secretary, and John W. Fultz treasurer. The next year agitation for the consolidation of all three unions in the iron and steel trades was begun. The Roll Hands held no convention this year, but eagerly awaited action leading toward this goal; and so the officers elected in 1874 continued to serve until the amalgamation in 1876. The Roll Hands' Union was never very important numerically, being scattered from Chicago to Johnstown, Pa., chiefly in rail mills. Strikes were ordered by the local unions, and benefits created by voluntary subscription. No sick or death benefits were paid. The limit of a day's work was fixed at six rounds. Its chief claim to distinction, perhaps, is the part it played in beginning and keeping alive the movement which finally resulted in the amalgamated union of the iron and steel trades.

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[32] Wm. Martin, Brief History of the Amalgamated Association.(souvenir).

United Nailers.

It is difficult to trace from scant references the beginnings of unionism in other branches of the iron industry. Mr. Fitch[33] refers to an announcement in the Boston "Weekly Voice" of Aug. 22, 1867, of the "seventh annual" convention of "Nail Makers of the United States and Canada" in New York City. The correspondent referred to it as "one of the strongest and most permanent organizations of mechanics in this country". This would presuppose an existence since 1860, thus antedating the active organization of the United Sons of Vulcan. At the amalgamation in 1876, the "United Nailers" were represented by one delegate, the union being composed of a few local lodges, without national organization. This delegate was Edward Joyce, of Sharon Lodge No. 39, Pa.

In 1885 occurred the nailers' secession from the union. It had become a difficult matter to aid this trade materially. The proverbially "busy" nailer was accustomed to good wages. By means of machinery, however, the manufacturers were able to effect so considerable an increase in productive capacity that they restricted the output to keep up the price. On Dec. 28, 1882, the Western Nail Association met and resolved to close all the nail mills belonging to the Association during the month of January in order to maintain the price of nails, at that time $3.40 per keg.[34] The nailer was idle six months out of the year

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[33] Fitch, "Steel Workers", Chapter VIII, p. 80.

[34] National Labor Tribune, Jan. 6, 1883.

yet all the time that restrictions were in vogue nail machines were being added to old plants, and an occasional new factory was built. During the sixteen months from Sept., 1882 to Dec., 1883, the increase in nail mills was such as to augment the productive capacity of mills thirty-five per cent.[35] The machines became so numerous that no demand likely to occur, even in a very prosperous year, could have kept them in work much over half time. The result was obvious; there was no prospect for steady employment. The Association found it out of the question to satisfy the craft in their demand for wages, and on April 2, 1885, they withdrew in a body and organized the United Nailers of North America. The first annual convention was held July 24th of that year in Wheeling, with delegates present from Pennsylvania, W. Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio. It lasted four days.

Nail-plate heaters and rollers were admitted to membership, and the name of the organization was changed to "The Nailers' and Nail Plate Rollers' and Heaters' Association". The following officers were elected: President, John K. Weir, of Bellaire, O.; Vice President, Stephen Ripley, of Wheeling; Warden, John Brown, of Wheeling; Secretary, Matthew A. Chew, of Wheeling; and Trustees, John Gavin, Wm. B. Lewis, and James Porter. Because of personal animosity, the nail feeders were not admitted to the union, so they formed a short-lived sectional union of their own, "The Nail Feeders'Union of the Ohio Valley".

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[35] National Labor Tribune, Dec. 29, 1883.

The nail feeders were frequently known to take the jobs of the nailers, consequently bitter feeling existed. The convention was scheduled to meet the next year in Columbus, O. Within a year, however, many individual nailers were sending petitions for readmission. This feeling grew apace the following year, and early in 1886 the United Nailers concluded to return to the protecting roof of the house whence they had wandered in 1885. The Pittsburgh convention of 1886 re-admitted them.[36]

The Amalgamation of the Several Unions.

Preliminary to the discussion of the movement that culminated in the consolidation of the organizations, it is à propos to state some of the main reasons for this action. The workmen had separate unions, each more or less dependent upon the others, yet without official connection. They were merely dissipating their strength, since there was no co-operation or mutual agreement existing between them. In time of strike, it was a source of weakness that the various trades were in no position to act in concert. If the puddlers had a grievance, muck bar was purchased in the market and the heaters and rollers would work on unconcerned about the difficulties of the puddlers, and vice versa. On the other hand, the roll hands might have a demand that would affect both boilers and rollers as distressingly as it would the employer. As a result, wages were reduced or strikes lost when a united action of all the trades would have meant victory.

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[36] See chapter on Jurisdiction, for detailed account.

Impressed with the necessity of organization of the separate factors into one large union, the members of Columbus Lodge No. 11 of Iron and Steel Roll Hands at Columbus, O., began to agitate the propriety of an amalgamation of all men working in iron and steel rolling mills into one body. The three local organizations in the Columbus Rolling Mill formed a local amalgamated society, the members retaining membership in their respective national unions, though, when occasion required, they put their theory of amalgamation into practice in the settlement of disputes in the works. The matter was discussed in the columns of the National Labor Tribune,[37] and editorial comment served to crystallize sentiment in favor of the movement. The mill men of Louisville, Ky., and New Albany, Ind., met in Louisville Dec. 10, 1874, framed an appeal to the mill men all over the country, and these arguments were published in the Tribune.[38]

At first the Roll Hands were jealous of their independence, due to the fact that most of the trades represented in their organization were not admitted to the Heaters' and Puddlers' unions. This feeling soon disappeared, and the Roll Hands in 1874 sent David Plant as their representative to the Heaters' convention at Covington, Ky., in July of that year, for the purpose of effecting a confederation of those bodies. Committees

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[37] The National Labor Tribune is a labor paper, established in Pittsburgh in 1873, devoted chiefly to the interest of the iron, steel, and mining industries.

[38] National Labor Tribune, Dec. 26, 1874, Vol. 11, no.51, p.1, col. 1.

of the Heaters and Roll Hands met at Indianapolis, Ind., Aug. 3, 1875, and after four days a constitution and by-laws were adopted, agreeable to all, and placed in the hands of the printer. The Sons of Vulcan were assembled in convention at Philadelphia at the same time. Although the question of amalgamation had received favorable consideration in the Youngstown convention of the previous year the matter was deferred to the last day of the convention for definitive action, and, in the crush of closing business, was overlooked. The Heaters and Roll Hands, uncertain what action the Puddlers would take, decided not to wait. On the twenty-third of August, however, a communication was received from President Joseph Bishop of the Puddlers' Union, stating that favorable action had been taken on the question of "Amalgamation with the Heaters' Association and the Roll Hands' Union." The printing of the constitution was held up, and the meeting of the three committees was arranged to be held in Pittsburgh, December 7, 1875. The committee of the United Sons of Vulcan was composed of Joseph Bishop, President of the National Forge, E. H. McAnninch, David Reese, and John Jarrett; the Heaters were represented by Richard Sullivan, Vice Grand Sire, Ben F. Spangler, James Penney, and James T. Clites; the Roll Hands' committee consisted of David A. Plant, Grand President, William Martin, and John W. Fultz. These committees met on the date arranged, and were at work for six days, framing a constitution and a code of by-laws for the government of the proposed Amalgamated Association. Copies of the new constitution were printed

and submitted to every lodge and forge throughout the country, and, to the credit of the joint committee, it was favorably received. Delegates were given instructions and sent to the conventions of the three unions which by arrangement met simultaneously in Pittsburgh on the first Tuesday of August, 1876.

Each organization met in separate session, voted to amalgamate, and, after disposing of such business as pertained to the individual society, announced its readiness to enter into a joint session to consider the subject of amalgamation. On August 3, 1876, at two o'clock, the delegates of the three associations and one from the United Nailers met in Emerald Hall, Pittsburgh. The convention, after the preliminary words of welcome, unanimously elected James Grundy of Covington, Ky., representing the Puddlers as chairman, and William Martin of Columbus, O., representing the Roll Hands, as secretary of the convention. At this convention seventy representatives were present; forty-eight of the Puddlers, fifteen of the Heaters, six of the Roll Hands, and one of the Nailers. So well did the committee understand and reflect the sentiments of their several organizations that but two amendments were added to the constitution which was then adopted as a whole. The one amendment was to have the money, collected from the assessment of members, deposited in a bank subject to the call of the president, rather than to forward it immediately to the national association. The other was the substitution of "conciliation" for "arbitration" in the platform of principles of the association. As a final act of

union, the delegates by an unanimous vote, on Aug. 4, 1876, "declared themselves an amalgamated body", and the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of the United States was formed. Joseph Bishop was elected first president of the organization, and Edward McGinnis treasurer. The offices of president and secretary were combined and so continued for the first two years of the existence of the union. The number of local lodges at the time of its formation was ninety-seven and the membership about three thousand.

The Amalgamated Association.

The history of the Association was generally successful until 1892. Its first year was one of great success. In 1878, however, the price of iron fell and there were many strikes both against the reduction of wages and the "contract system", by which the first four weeks' wages and a percentage, usually 25%, of all subsequent wages were retained until the end of the year, then to be paid to the men if profits should "justify such payment". In 1879, trade revived, and there was a cessation of strikes. In this year, Joseph Bishop, the first president, resigned because the convention reduced his salary from fifteen hundred dollars to one thousand dollars. Mr. Jarrett was elected president and held office until 1883. In 1881, Canada was included within the jurisdiction of the Association, and colored men were made eligible to membership. This was the year of the organization of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, which

has since become the American Federation of Labor. The Amalgamated Association took a prominent part in the formation of the Federation; Mr. Jarrett was the first presiding officer. The next year the Amalgamated Association withdrew from the Federation, because the original platform in favor of protection was removed. It affiliated with the A. F. of L. in 1887. In 1883, steel rail manufacturers reduced wages 33-1/3 %, and the strikes between capital and organized labor were frequent. The Union won the majority of its demands. Membership grew apace for several years, from 10,000 in 1880 to 11,800 in 1883. Reverses in strikes depleted the ranks to 6,000 in 1885, and after that it rapidly increased to 15,000 in 1888, and nearly 25,000 in 1892 when the Association undertook the celebrated strike at Homestead, and was defeated.

And why was the Union overthrown? Briefly, organized capital, with no competing employers in the steel trade, found it a great disadvantage to have wages fixed by agreements. While the system of fixing wages by annual agreements was a direct benefit to coal operators, by having the labor cost the same for all competitors, the consolidation of the United States Steel Corporation brought together under one management big business units, and labor costs were fixed in other ways than by agreements with employees. In the second place, the defeat of the Union may be traced to defective organization. Prior to the Homestead strike, the Union dominated the steel industry. Two defects were apparent. It included only the skilled, or semi-skilled,

and high priced workers; and it had no effective discipline over its local unions. The employer was handicapped by arbitrary restriction which the national officials deprecated, but could not correct. Common labor did not benefit at all by these rules. In the mind of the manufacturer, the Union, which had become undemocratic and headstrong in its power, was in need of discipline. The Corporation was powerful enough to do this. Since that time, however, the manufacturers have gone to as mad an extreme in oppressing employees as the Union previously did in controlling employers.

In 1892 the Union began to decline. The membership fell to ten thousand in 1898, then increased slightly to fifteen thousand in 1902[39] when the Union was rooted out of all steel mills in the East. The convention of 1909, reported a few more than eight thousand, when a strike with the American Sheet and Tin Plate Co., the last subsidiary company of the Corporation to deal with the union, depleted its ranks one-half.

The industry[40] has at no time been thoroughly organized. In 1878, it was roughly estimated that there were 30,000 workers eligible to membership in the union.[41] Of these, a little over

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39 A comparative table, showing the growth and decline in membership of the association, will be found in the Appendix.

40 Wolman states that in 1914 there were 1,746,387 people gainfully employed in the iron and steel industries. Of these, 1, 718, 140 are males, and 28,247 females (the latter being mostly among the tin workers). The number organized is 173, 169; or 9.9 per cent. The percentage of males organized is 10:1. The membership of the Amalgamated in 1914 was 6880.

41 Proceedings, 1878, pp. 139-140.

4000 were organized, or scarcely fifteen per cent. Half of the mills were reported "unorganized"; these were principally in the Eastern and New England states.

The union was at its highest point of membership, 24068, in 1891. The number who were eligible was probably 100,000. There were eight districts, with centers at Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Cincinnatti, Chicago, Indianapolis, Youngstown, Birmingham, and Philadelphia, respectively. The first, or Pittsburgh, district had always been the stronghold and the "model" in organization. It was divided into two sections, having in both ninety-four local unions. The sixth, or Youngstown, district ranked second. The eighth, or Eastern, district, altho it had at this time a large number of local unions, was never permanently organized. The other districts averaged about fifteen.

The accompanying table shows the decline of the organization from 1892 to 1912, and the sign of its recovery in recent years. The three big strikes--in the years 1892, 1901, and 1910--tell their own silent story in the figures. The Pittsburgh and Youngstown districts, it will be noticed, lost their position of prestige for organization; effective organization shifted to the west, where unionism is still alive. Repeated efforts have been made to regain the East, and various expedients adopted from time to time. A system of espionage has succeeded in keeping the union out of corporate plants; so that unionism in the large iron and steel mills throughout the East is, at present working, virtually a "lost cause".

Number of Local Unions

by

Districts

District	1891	1902	1912	1916	Central City.
First	94	30	7	4	Pittsburgh
Second	18	19	8	7	Wheeling
Third	17	10	7	8	Concinnatti
Fourth	18	17	9	12	Chicago
Fifth	17	18	7	7	Indianapolis
Sixth	53	41	16	18	Youngstown
Seventh	7	11	-		Birmingham
Eighth	54	9	-		Philadelphia
Ninth		10	12	14	St. Louis
Tenth			3	4	Reading
Isolated	12	9	8	16	
Total	290	174	77	90	
Total Memb'p	24068	14467	4318	7860	
Average Memb'p per Union.	83	83	56	87	

CHAPTER II

GOVERNMENT

The rules which determine the conduct of the members of a union are embodied in a written instrument known as the constitution and by-laws. The Sons of Vulcan, which was the oldest and most important of the constituent societies of the Amalgamated Association, adopted a constitution and by-laws in 1863. The committees which formulated the constitutions both of the Roll Hands' and of the Heaters' unions borrowed, with but slight change and unimportant omissions, the constitution of the Puddlers' society.[1] A comparison of the constitutions of the two younger bodies with that of the parent organization shows their similarity so clearly that the incorporation by the Roll Hands and the Heaters of large portions of the Vulcan's constitution is indubitable. A single clause, cited at random, will illustrate:

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[1] The first available constitution of the Sons of Vulcan is to be found in the proceedings of 1869. It contains the grand forge constitution in full "along with all amendments adopted since 1866" (Vulcan Record No. 4, pp. 23-31). The first sub-forge constitution is printed in the proceedings of 1870. (Ibid., No. 6, pp. 56-67.).

Constitution of the United Sons of Vulcan. Approved 1874.

--Article III.

Section I.

"The President shall be present at all meetings of the National Forge. To him shall all questions of a constitutional character be referred, whose decision shall be final, unless non-concurred in by two-thirds of the members present. Instruct all new members in the workings of this National Forge. Commission Deputies for the several districts, furnish them with uniform letter head stationey bearing the number of the District, name and address of Deputy, and superintend the workings of this order throughout the country. He shall have power to visit any Sub-Forge and inspect their proceedings, either personally or by deputy; and require a compliance to the laws, rules, and usages of this National Forge,---"

Constitution of the Iron and Steel Roll Hands Adopted 1874

--Article III.

Section I.

"The President shall be present at all meetings of the Grand Lodge. To him shall all questions of a constitutional character be referred, whose decision shall be final, unless non-concurred in by two-thirds of the members present; instruct new members in the working of the Order throughout the country. He shall have power to visit any of the Subordinate Lodges in an official capacity, after giving them due and timely notice of such an intended visit, either personally or by deputy, and require a compliance of the laws, rules, and usages of the Grand Lodge,----"

The joint committee of the three unions which drew up in 1875 the tentative draft of the constitution[2] of the Amalgamated Association likewise used the Vulcan constitution as a basis upon which to build. The system of government employed by the puddlers was continued by the consolidated body.

From what society the Sons of Vulcan, in piecing together their machinery of government, have borrowed, is quite a matter of conjecture. It is reasonably certain that they obtained it from no one source. The fraternal societies, no doubt, exercised an important influence on the government of this as well as of nearly all the older unions. Professor Barnett has pointed out that the rules adopted by the first permanent national trade union in the United States, the National Typographical Union, were apparently borrowed by the committee which in 1851 drew them up "almost without change---from the Constitution of the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the United States of America. No mention of this fact was made in the report of the committee, but a comparison of the two constitutions reveals such striking similarities that the connection between them can be clearly established".[3] This constitution of the Odd Fellows, well suited perhaps to the decentralized form of government which the founders of the International Typographical Union sought to create, was altogether unsuitable for a highly centralized kind of organization which the

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[2] The constitutions of the early societies were invariably printed in German as well as English. (Proceedings: Heaters',1874; Roll Hands, 1874, p. 25; Vulcan Record, No. 12, pp. 52, 54; Amalg. Association, 1877, p. 94.

[3] G. E. Barnett, "The Printers". p. 58.

puddlers essayed to establish. Accordingly, the early constitution of the Grand Forge of the Sons of Vulcan shows no trace of the influence of the Odd Fellows either in wording or in subject matter.

Fraternal orders have influenced the molding of the government of the union in minor ways. Reference is occasionally found in the proceedings of the union to the system of benefits maintained in the fraternal societies, and members have urged the adoption of a similar system by the union. The mystery of a secret pass word, the ceremony of initiation, the regalia, and other forms associated with the secret society, have been introduced into the labor organization. The influence of the fraternal order is shown also in the use of names, such as "Grand Forge", or "Grand Lodge", "subordinate lodge", "grand vulcan", "grand knight", "conductor" or "guide", "door-keeper" or "inside and outside guard".

The early union of the puddlers undoubtedly devoted considerable study to the government and policies of the English unions. Occasionally the attention of the members was directed to an article in an English trade journal. Sometimes an immigrant puddler presented credentials from the English society and was admitted to the American union. Not infrequently correspondence between the national officers of the Sons of Vulcan and the British Iron and Steel Workers appeared in the proceedings of the convention. In 1873 President McLaughlin read a letter from John Kane, Secretary of the British Ironworkers' Amalgamated Association, suggesting a federation of English and American unions in the iron and steel trades. The chief features of the

financial system of the Vulcans--the accumulation of revenue by periodical collection of dues rather than by special assessment, the distribution of national funds among the treasuries of the local societies rather than its deposit in a single central treasury, and national control over the income and expenditure of the local union--have been largely copied from the English union. The association in the iron and steel trade, on the other hand, has not engrafted on its structure other features of English societies. For example, it makes little use of the referendum, but has always retained the representative assembly. During the interval between the sessions questions only of a very limited kind are referred to popular vote. Besides, the association, in the development of its machinery of government, has originated certain devices of its own.

The Government of the Local Union.

The nature of the government of the early local unions in the iron trades of the United States cannot be set forth definitively. Information concerning the rise of local societies of iron workers in the same town or city is so fragmentary that all statements concerning their machinery of government must be mere guesses and therefore of no great value. No constitution of any of these early unions is extant. No doubt, government is too high-sounding a phrase to apply. The workmen gathered together in simple and informal shop meetings, and elected a presiding officer *viva voce*. These meetings were held sometimes within the industrial establishment, more often perhaps in some dingy room over a

store or even a saloon, usually on a Saturday night. They were clandestine in character, because of the workmen's fear of discharge. When the need arose, special committees were created to lay the demands of the journeymen before the employer.

The form of government of the local union, so far as we know, has never undergone any radical change. It is essentially government by mass-meeting. By the early sixties the mass-meeting had come to be practically the same as it is now. Originally five "practical workers" was the minimum number necessary to organize a local union. In 1880, the minimum was increased to ten. The whole body of members, assembling "at least once in every two weeks", is the final authority for the transaction of all business--legislative, executive, and judicial. The general meeting may adopt amendments to the by-laws, may bring to trial accused members and by a two-thirds vote suspend or expel them, may order the payment of bills for local expenses, but has no power to declare a strike. The sole authority to legalize a strike was vested in a special committee created for this purpose by the national assembly. In any important business, the local society appoints a committee to investigate the matter and report at the next meeting; but no decision is binding except by a vote of the members. The meetings are held in some convenient hall; or sometimes several local unions join together to hire a building where each may have its office and meeting room. During the meetings the officers are stationed

in various parts of the room, upon slightly raised platforms or behind small tables, resembling the ceremony of fraternal orders.

The Amalgamated Association has endeavored to divide the local unions when they reached a considerable size. In early times, one local society had members working in several mills. When the membership became too large for proper administration of local affairs, members of the same mill were organized in separate unions. By about 1880 the number of members in a single union from the larger mills became so great as to impair the efficiency of the general meeting. The local unions were again divided so that the different branches of the trade were organized into separate lodges. Thus, the finishers belonged to one local union, the boilers held membership in another, the steel workers in a third, and so on. In 1890 the average membership of a subordinate lodge was less than ninety, the largest having over four hundred members, and the smallest a mere handful of less than a dozen. Only in a few of the larger local unions was there any danger of the monthly meeting degenerating into an unwieldy mob.

A second, perhaps less important, method employed by the association to limit the size of the subordinate lodges was by restricting the choice of lodges in which an itinerant member might deposit his card. According to the constitution, any member removing from one locality to another, and obtaining

a situation, was required to deposit his card in the lodge which controlled the mill wherein he worked, and all cards not deposited within four weeks thereafter were, ipso facto, annulled. Where there were two or more lodges in one mill, the members were obliged to join the lodge governing the department in which they were employed. This regulation kept the separate local unions intact, with a more or less homogeneous personel.

The plan to limit the size of the local unions has two advantages. In the first place, the reduction of the size of the general meeting lessens the chances of ill-advised legislation. Secondly, since the local unions in each mill must act in concert the decision of important matters must be referred to a committee higher up, the district or executive committee. It is obvious that a general meeting composed of over a thousand members, such as there were in the Jones and Laughlin (Ltd.) establishment alone in 1890, could not carefully and wisely pass upon affairs of importance.

The defects of government by mass-meeting are those which are common to all popular assemblies. First of all, it is difficult to secure regular attendance of members. Fines have been levied for inexcusable absences. In 1876, officers were fined fifty cents, and other members ten cents, for non-attendance at the regular meeting without satisfactory excuse. This measure, except in the case of officers, was not very effective. By 1910, altho the fine upon officers was reduced to twenty-five cents, two additional rules were imposed upon all

members. A member was fined one dollar if he failed to attend for three months, and fifty cents if he missed, without cause, the last stated meeting in December and in June, when important business was transacted. Occasionally difficulties result from revolts of the minority, who, because foiled in some pet scheme, stir up factional feeling. Unwise strike agitators sometimes override the calmer judgment of conservative members. Not infrequently windy orators consume too much time in meetings, to say nothing of boring those who cannot choose but listen.

The general meeting is a crude mechanism for rendering judicial decisions and for the transaction of executive business. Matters are continually arising which demand immediate consideration during the period between the regular meetings. This defect is somewhat lessened by the creation of certain committees, altho the local union is rather reluctant to delegate any of its functions. Many committees are appointed for a particular purpose. Yet, of necessity, certain standing committees have also emerged, the most important of which is the Mill Committee. The national union adopted rules requiring each subordinate lodge to create such a committee, "consisting of three members, on each turn, from each department represented in the lodge". It is the duty of the committee "to superintend and guard the interests of the Association in their several departments" and to adjust, if possible, all difficulties which arise between the manager of the works and any member or members of the union.[4]

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[4] In 1912, in order to facilitate the work of the Mill Committee, local lodges were authorized to draw up shop rules, which were to be submitted to the management for approval. These

Another important committee of the local union is the grievance committee. It is a special committee appointed to consider charges when a member is brought to trial. Another standing committee is the auditing committee, whose duty it is to audit the accounts of the officers who have charge of the funds.

The important officials of the local union are a president, who is chairman at meetings of the society, a recording secretary, a financial secretary, and a treasurer. The recording secretary acts also as corresponding secretary. The financial secretary keeps accounts of receipts and expenditures. Frequently the local dues of the secretaries and treasurer are remitted as pay for their services. The president is an unpaid official. The minor officers, who also receive no stipend for their services, are a vice-president, three trustees, an inside guard, an outside guard, and a guide. In recent years has been added a journal agent, who solicits patronage for the trade journal, and for his effort receives a small compensation. All the officers work at their respective trades and perform their official duties during spare time. A business agent was rarely ever employed by any union in the iron and steel trade.

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rules were to regulate local conditions not covered by the scale or the constitution. (Proceedings, 1912, p. 9825).

The Government of the National Union.

The distinctive feature of the constitution of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, adopted in 1876, was the supreme authority given to the annual convention of delegates[5] from the several local societies. The National Union had power to elect its officers, to decide "all matters of general importance relating to the welfare of the several Lodges", and to determine "the customs and usages in regard to all matters pertaining to the interests of the Association". Executive and judicial as well as legislative functions were exercised by a single body. In the exercise of its legislative power it had equal authority to pass every kind of law. No distinction between constitutional and statutory law was recognized. All kinds of rules were adopted in exactly the same manner. At one moment, therefore, the assembly might be remodelling the constitution or transferring important functions from the subordinate society to the National Union; at another, it might be passing a rule that no member be allowed to smoke in the assembly hall while the convention was in session.[6]

In its judicial capacity, the convention considered grievances brought by national officers, local unions, or individual members, and the charge might constitute a violation of the rules of a local union as well as of those of the national union. Consequently, the suits laid before the convention

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5 The convention meets, at present, the first Tuesday of May, annually. Delegates, to be eligible, must be clear on the Secretary's books, must be working at some trade under the juris-

varied greatly in importance. The assembly, in one instance, might suspend or even expel a local union for serious violation of the rules; while, in another case, it might be sustaining a subordinate lodge in imposing a fine of a dollar or two on a member for some petty misdemeanor. Much valuable time of the convention was regularly wasted by the consideration of trivial appeals.

The principal executive functions of the representative assembly were the levy of taxes, the appropriation of revenue, and the ratification of agreements. The convention fixes the amount of dues and assessments; it controls disbursements; it has the final power in making agreements. The Amalgamated Association, continuing the practice established by the Sons of Vulcan, held separate conventions, one to regulate the internal government of the organization, the other to establish uniform district prices and to draw up the scale of wages to be demanded from the employers. The district conventions, as also the scale convention, composed of delegates elected by the various district conventions, always met immediately before the joint conference between employers and employees, and outlined

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diction of the union, and must have served six months in some office of the local union. The National Lodge pays railway fare only; the local union pays other necessary expenses. Any Sub-Lodge failing to send a delegate without excuse is fined $50.00.

[6]Any amendment to the laws must previously have been sent to the National Lodge to be printed in the "programme of business". This provision was made in 1877.

the terms which its representatives were to demand. Since 1885, these conventions have been merged.[7] The national assembly had many other functions. Besides electing its own officers, it audited their accounts. Through its committees it performed various detailed administrative duties which were executive in character.

The convention as an organ of government invites the same criticism as the representative assembly of many organizations, political and social, namely, that as the union grew in numbers it became too large to transact business efficiently. While the number of delegates in attendance at the first few conventions of the association was only about a hundred, there were nearly three hundred present in 1891, and over two hundred in 1902. Careful formulation of policies or proper sifting of evidence in judicial cases by such a body is impracticable. Therefore the assembly has followed the usual practice of creating committees to perform certain duties. Consequently, no small part of the time of the convention is spent in accepting or rejecting the proposals of committees.

The convention resembles a legislature in the amazing number and variety of committees. Two of the most important of these are the committee on constitution and the committee on the

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[7] By the merging of these conventions, the union effected a saving estimated at $3000 a year. The session was changed to meet in June instead of in August, and the date of scale termination from June 1st to July 1st. (National Labor Tribune, Aug. 15, 1885, p. 4, c. 1.)

general good of the order. The latter makes recommendations upon all matters of general importance referred to it by subordinate unions or by the convention. To the committee on constitution are submitted all amendments to the rules. The committee reports on all amendments either favorably or unfavorably. Some of these are pigeon-holed, others are presented in a modified form for adoption by the convention. A committee on grievance considers appeals from judicial decisions of national officers and local unions. One committee reports on the mileage of delegates. Another rejects or drafts into legal form the recommendations made in the reports of the officers. There are committees to audit the financial accounts of officers, to consider ways and means for new administrative functions, to entertain claims, and so on. The duties of these several committees are not carefully coordinated. For example, the work of the committee on grievance and the committee on appeals is very similar. Lack of coordination is particularly apparent in legislation passed by the convention. Amendments to the rules are drafted and submitted to the representative assembly not only by the committee on constitution but also by committees formed for wholly different purposes. These amendments are frequently recommended by the president, one of the several vice-presidents, or the secretary-treasurer in their reports to the convention. The committee on officers' reports considers them seriatim and whips them into shape for adoption by the assembly. Ordinarily the convention does not refer all proposed

amendments to a single committee. Two conflicting resolutions have been known to have passed the vote of the convention.

The efficiency of the convention as a governmental instrument is limited because it can be assembled so infrequently and can remain in session but a short time. It meets once a year. The length of the session has been extended according as the size and number of activities have increased. In 1876 the convention, lasted three days, whereas it lasted seventeen days in 1902. Two weeks, the average length of the convention, or even three weeks, the maximum period, seems a very short period[8] in which to adopt needed legislation, settle judicial cases, elect officers, levy dues, appropriate funds, audit accounts, and transact numerous other matters of business which accumulate from one year to the next. Likewise must be taken into account lost time waiting for committees to report. Little can be accomplished the first day, since the credentials of the delegates must first be examined and their right to take part in the deliberations determined. After listening to an address of welcome by a municipal executive or a local trade-union leader, a recess is taken until the credential committee is ready to report. Then follows the appointment of committees and assignment of work to each group. Since nothing can be done until the committees have formulated their reports, the delegates are usually entertained by some form of picnic or by a visit to some

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[8] It lasted in 1916 from the 2d to the 19th of May.

point of interest in the city. Consequently, much of the business has to be rushed thro during the latter part of the session. During the last few days the election of officers must take place, and a city chosen for the next convention. If the contest is close, more time is consumed in electioneering and wire-pulling, and in taking a number of ballots. Sometimes only a very few days remain in which to adopt requisite legislation and formulate trade policies for the union.

In fixing the basis of representation in convention, as Glocker in his study of The Government of American Trade Unions points out, the same opposition has existed between the large and small local unions as existed at the time of the founding of the American Commonwealth. The members of the large local unions demanded that representation should be proportional to membership, pointing out the unfairness of equal representation and minority rule. The small local societies clung to the principle of equal representation fearing that the alternate scheme would allow two or three large societies to dictate policies to all the rest. Originally each subordinate lodge of the puddlers' union was entitled to one representative for its first five members, two when the membership reached thirty-five, and three for a lodge of one hundred members. In 1874, local unions were allowed one delegate for the first seventy-five, members, two for one hundred and fifty, and three for two hundred. By 1880, the basis of representation reached its present form. Ten is the minimum membership entitled to a charter.

"A subordinate lodge with less than one hundred members shall be entitled to one representative. A Sub-Lodge with one hundred and twenty-five members shall be entitled to two representatives, and one representative for each additional hundred."

Even according to the system of representation proportional to membership, the small local unions have the advantage, since each society of ten members is allowed one delegate as well as the one with a hundred and twenty-four members. The smaller unions, however, are by no means so fully represented at the annual sessions as the large unions. The system of representation by proxy has never been tried. The Association has always paid the railway fare of their delegates in order to place at an equal advantage the branches near and those at a distance from the place of meeting, as well as to aid the small local societies which could not otherwise afford to send representatives. The subordinate unions have had to bear the other expenses of their delegates. The cost of sending a delegate is obviously a heavier burden to a small union than to a large one. At the Pittsburgh session in 1891, only 220 subordinate unions out of 300, or 70 per cent, were represented. The 220 unions represented had, however, 23,300 members, or 96.8 per cent of the total membership.

There are two objections to the paying of the expenses of the delegates by the national union. First, the large local unions are taxed in order that the small ones may be represented. To make the financial burden more unfair to the larger societies, the small societies predominate. Secondly, when the

expenses of representatives are borne by the national organization, the size of the convention becomes too large for governmental efficiency. The increase in the member of subordinate lodges has been due, not only to the growth in membership, but also to the tendency to split up the original local unions into smaller units according to branch of trade or nationality. In the Association, the size of the convention has tended to grow larger. In 1877, seventy-seven delegates were present, in 1883 there were a hundred and fifty-three, and at the convention of 1891, two hundred and ninety-four. The plan to reduce the size of the convention by grouping the societies into districts, which would elect delegates to represent all the unions in the several districts, has been steadily defeated. The local unions, jealous of their political prerogatives, have constantly refused to become merged with any form of district representation.

As the activities of the national union increase, the convention decreases in effectiveness as a method of transacting business. The decline in its power may be marked off roughly into three stages: (a) the predominance of the representative assembly; (b) the enlargement of the power of the officers ; (c) the recent struggle for the referendum.

During the first of these stages, the annual convention of delegates was practically the sole organ of government. This assembly was a loose confederation of local unions, and its

functions were primarily legislative and judicial. The officers were elected from among the delegates at the convention or those who had been delegates at any previous convention, and their duties were chiefly in connection with the sessions. They consisted, originally, of a president (known as grand master), a vice president (with a distinctive title of grand vulcan), a secretary, a treasurer, a conductor or guide, and a doorkeeper. There was also an officer, plumed with the title of grand knight, whose duty it was to display to the delegates his knowledge of the ritual. The "grand vulcan" was the presiding officer of the convention. The office of "grand knight" was abolished in 1870, and in 1874 the offices of president and secretary were amalgamated. The officers were elected for one year, and assumed their duties at the close of the session at which they were elected.

The amount of executive work in the interval between sessions was very limited. The issuing of charters and cards, the preparation of the convention proceedings for publication, the collection and disbursement of the small revenue needed for general expenses, and the collection and distribution of voluntary strike contributions, constituted the important administrative duties during the first period of the union's history. In 1867, the national officers seldom heard from local officers. At first the officers were unpaid. Later, the secretary was voted annually by convention a certain sum of money. The president was customarily presented with a purse by the local un-

ions.[9] In 1872, the donation amounted to $766. The free will offering was always sufficiently large that the positions never went begging, and the convention usually continued the same men in office for several years.

The second stage appears with the growth of the activities of the central organization. It is marked by the creation of paid and unpaid officials and boards of management which levy assessments, sanction the declaration of strikes, and perform many detailed executive duties, make judicial decisions, and sometimes exercise a very limited legislative power during the period between conventions. A district executive committee has the power to declare strikes. A board of investigation[10] makes judicial decisions, and has been known to make new rules on the ground of expediency. The final authority, however, still resides in the representative assembly. It continues to elect officers, to audit their accounts, and to remove them for misdemeanors or neglect of duty. At the same time, the influence of the paid officers grows rapidly. They devote their entire time to the work of the union, and thus gain an intimate knowledge of the conditions of the trade and the internal affairs of the association. The delegates must rely greatly on their judgment. Accordingly, by far the larger part

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[9] The Heaters "agreed to pay" their president--known as Grand Worthy Sire--$200 for the year ending July 7, 1874 (Mins. Heaters' Conv. 1874), but correspondence shows that he received it only in installments of $50 each (Official Correspondence, Heaters).

[10] The national officers may be brought to trial, reprimanded, suspended, or expelled by a similar board.

of the time of the convention is devoted to the ratification or rejection of the legislative and executive program outlined by the officers in their reports to the assembly of delegates.

This stage was quickly attained in the union of the iron boilers and puddlers, whose activites increased so rapidly that it was necessary to have one man devote his entire time to the affairs of the union. In 1873, all power--executive, judicial, and even legislative--was vested during the interval between sessions in a single paid official, known as the president. He was voted a salary of $1500 "clear of all travelling expenses".[11] The president acted as financial and corresponding secretary, supervised the publication of the convention proceedings, and chartered new local societies. When time permitted, he attempted to organize the workers in non-union mills. He visited localities where a strike threatened, and endeavored to adjust the difficulty. In the interpretation and enforcement of the national constitution, he was at once policeman and judge. As a legislator, he advanced new rules not covered by the existing constitution, and broke the rules whenever he thought the emergency called for such action. He

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[11] Mr. Joseph Bishop, President of the Sons of Vulcan, at the time the Amalgamated Association was formed in 1876, was paid a yearly salary of $1500. He resigned Jan. 1, 1880, partly because the convention reduced his salary to $1200 in 1878, and to $1000 in 1879. Mr. John Jarrett, his successor,

could not declare a strike, nor was he entrusted with the care of the funds; otherwise his power was absolute during the period between conventions.

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in 1880 was raised to $1200, and in 1881 to $1500. Presidents Weihe and Garland each received $1500. In 1899 President Shaffer's salary was increased to $1800. President McArdle in 1909 was drawing a monthly salary of $180.00. President John Williams, the present incumbent, had his salary increased, along with the other officers, $30 per month in 1916; this gives him $210 per month, or slightly over $2500 a year.

In 1880, the offices of President and Secretary were separated, and the Secretary was paid $1000 per year. The next year, his salary was raised $200, and in 1899 to $1500. In 1901, the offices of Secretary and Treasurer had been consolidated, and an Assistant Secretary was being paid $100 per month. In 1899, an organizer, entitled Assistant President, was appointed by the President at the same salary as the Assistant Secretary; but this office was made elective in 1900 and dispensed with a few years later. Secretary-Treasurer, M. F. Tighe, receives $180 per month; Ass't Secretary, Joseph A. Bowers, and Vice Presidents, Ben F. Jones, and Walter Larkin, $150 per month, each.

In 1885, the convention passed a law that officers' salaries "should advance and decline with the scale"; but when the first decline happened in 1894, this law was found to conflict with the constitution, that such salaries "should remain as fixed by the convention for one year"; and so was stricken out.

Early in the history of the union, the president appointed deputies, one for each state, whose duty it was to organize local unions, to visit localities where strikes were imminent or in progress, and whenever possible adjust the difficulty. No provision was at first made for paying these officials. In 1867, the system of state deputies was abandoned, the country was divided into districts, and a deputy appointed for each district. These officials worked at their trade, and received compensation for lost time and travelling expenses incurred in the discharge of their duties. This feature of government was carried over without change into the Amalgamated Association in 1876.

As the Association increased in size, however, and new functions were constantly being assumed, it was found difficult for the president and the deputies to perform all the duties of administration. New offices were created to meet this condition. The president was given the assistance of a secretary, to be appointed by him and paid $50 per month. In 1880, the convention created the office of secretary, to be elected from among its delegates at a salary of $1000 per year. Again, in 1890 an assistant secretary became necessary. In order to concentrate the funds in the hands of one responsible person, and thereby facilitate the administration of them, the offices of secretary and treasurer were combined in 1901.

Instead of deputies, the Association created the office of vice-president, whose duty was that of strike deputy and

organizer. One vice-president was elected for each of the eight districts. These officials appointed three deputies to assist them in their duties. They were paid for lost time and expenses. In 1905, the system of district vice-presidents was altered. Five paid vice presidents, one for each division--Boiling, Finishing, Sheet, and Tin--and one for the East, were elected. In 1909, this number was reduced to two who were continuously employed at a fixed salary of $1440 a year.[12] One vice president represented the Boiling and Finishing Divisions; the other, the Sheet and Tin Divisions. Each vice president appointed one deputy to each of the districts of his division, to assist him in administration.

The enlargement of the functions of the National Union has had a tendency to increase the importance of the president and the secretary-treasurer. The president acts as chairman of the annual assembly and of the general executive board.[13] Since 1890, he has been a member of each district executive committee, which has power to declare strikes for that district. In conjunction with the vice presidents and their respective deputies, he enforces the rules of the National Union, and

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[12] The convention of 1916 increased the salary to $1800.

[13] The National Executive Board superseded the Advisory Board in 1907, and like it, this Board had no definite functions except the vague one of advising the national officers in matters "not clearly defined by law". (Const. 1911, p. 14). It was composed of the National President, Secretary-Treasurer, and

with them as a Board of Investigation brings to trial delinquent subordinate unions in the several districts. The decision of the Board is final, unless non-concurred in by a two-thirds vote of the convention. The president travels frequently to various parts of the country to organize new local unions, to encourage the weak ones, and to adjust disputes between the workmen and their employers. The secretary-treasurer acts as secretary of the meetings of the convention and of the general executive board. He serves as a medium of communication between the local societies and the National Union. He keeps the financial accounts, and has charge of the funds. The president and the secretary-treasurer together administer the funds.

Perhaps the greatest power of the president is his influence over legislation. The constitution from the beginning has given to the executive the power to appoint the various committees of the national assembly. These committees include

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Divisional Vice Presidents. In 1909 were added to the Board the Assistant Secretary, Managing Editor of the Journal, and resident Trustee; and in 1915, the Insurance Secretary. In 1913, its functions were defined to include, in additon to subjects not covered by the rules, "all rulings on, or interpretations of, the scale of prices, footnotes, memorandum of agreement, addenda, convention actions and resolutions"; and any constitutional laws made by the National President, Vice Presidents, or National Executive Board are printed in the financial statements and read in the lodge meetings of the local Unions. (Const., 1913, p. 15.)

those on the Wage Scale, Appropriations, Officers' Reports, Constitution and General Laws, Greivances, Appeals, General Good of the Order, and so on. All proposals are considered and sifted by the various committees, who make their reports to the delegates. Even if proposed measures are presented to the convention, the unfavorable action of a committee offers a serious check to its adoption. By the judicious selection of members for service on the several committees, the president is able to influence appreciably the action of the session.

The other elective officers[14] of the National Union are three trustees, who hold the bonds of the president, the secretary-treasurer, and assistant secretary; audit the accounts of the National Lodge Quarterly; and deposit with the president their bond for the faithful perfomance of their duty. A managing editor is elected to edit the Amalgamated Journal. In the nineties, the National President was empowered to appoint an assistant to act as organizer. At present, this power of appointment is vested in the executive Board.

The third stage, namely the substitution of government by popular vote for the representative form of government, is of recent genesis, and is even now in an evolutionary stage of development. First mention of this new and more democratic form of government was made in 1894, when a local union (Progress, No. 13) of Akron, Ohio, presented a resolution to have

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[14] Since 1889, the term of office of all national officials expires October 1st; the convention meets in May.

scales of prices and constitutional amendments made "by the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum".[15] Again, in 1901, it was proposed to elect all national officers by the membership at large.[16] These proposals were rejected by the delegates at convention, so great was their attachment to the representative assembly. By 1911, sentiment in favor of the referendum had increased to such extent that it received the endorsement of the committee, and was adopted in the matter of constitutional amendments. Any proposition to change the laws required the endorsement of five lodges in three states within sixty days time before it could legally be submitted to popular vote. The columns of the Amalgamated Journal were open for discussion. The proposition was submitted to the membership by the National Secretary "without preamble or comment". Amendments made by the national convention also required the sanction of a referendum vote before they became a part of the constitution. All amendments went into effect sixty days after their approval. The national president, secretary, and the editor of the Journal constituted a board to canvass the votes and publish the results. This provision did not apply to the wage scale or the appointment of conference committees.[17]

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[15] Proceedings, 1894, p. 4687.

[16] Ibid., 1901, p. 6182.

[17] Ibid., 1911, pp. 9189--92, 9372--74. Const., 1911, p. 72.

Such was the law as passed by the convention and incorporated in the new constitution. The provision soon proved defective on two counts: no proper interpretation or construction was given to the law; and no time limit was set for closing the debate in the Journal. To add to the dilemma, an insurgent movement was on foot.[18]

Immediately the Newport, Ky., lodge--leaders in the insurrection--set about to have submitted to a referendum vote what they had advocated unsuccessfully in the convention, namely, the election of the national officers by a direct vote of the membership. The executive board thought it was "contrary to the expressed will and judgment of a majority of the delegates" of the last session. The proposed amendment received the legal endorsement of five lodges. Since the law provided no date for closing the debate in the Journal columns, the board decided that five lodges, by vote, could close the discussion. The proposition was submitted to the membership, but the result was disappointing. Some lodges having a membership of a hundred cast less than a dozen votes; others did not vote at all. So the matter remained in statu quo until the next annual session.

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[18] During the year 1912-1913, two movements, insurgent in character, took place. The one originated among the workmen in Niles, O., and was in the nature of a secession, the new organization styling itself The Industrial Iron and Steel Workers of America. The other was a radical movement within the organization, and the leaders of it called themselves the Progressive Movement of the A. A. of I. S. and T.W. The Progres-

In 1912, it was enacted that the national officers should be elected by means of the initiative and referendum, and be also subject to recall. The term of office was lengthened to two years, and elections were held on the even year. The legal provisions were as follows: A call for nominations was sent out Feb. 1st; two candidates were named by each local union for each position; nominations by five lodges entitled a candidate to a place on the ballot; majority vote elected, except in the case of trustees, of whom the three receiving the most votes were chosen. The results of the election were sealed and forwarded by registered mail to the national office, and remained unopened until a Canvassing Board of five members counted the vote and announced the results of the election at the next convention.

Similar machinery was provided for the recall of a national official. Upon the request of ten subordinate lodges, a re-election was held. No newly-elected officer could be recalled until he had served three months in office. Nor was the president or either vice-president subject to removal from May 1st to August 31st, that is, during the conference season

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sives advocated, among other things, industrial unionism and the extension of the popular referendum. How far these radical outbreaks influenced the more liberal use of the initiative and referendum is uncertain. The present officials would deny that they had any influence.**See chapter on Jurisdiction.

when scales were being signed, or while a strike was in progress in which ten per cent of the membership was involved.[19] When a petition was initiated by a local union for the recall of an official, the reasons for such action were set forth in two hundred words upon the printed ballot. The official in an equivalent space gave his "justification of his course in office".

The defects in the referendum provision for the adoption of constitutional amendments were also remedied. The essential changes were: the proposed amendment was printed in the Journal, and the matter was open for free discussion for sixty days, the time-limit for the receipt of proper endorsement. Members in good standing only were entitled to vote, and all votes were required to be cast at the same meeting of the local union. Any proposition purporting, in the opinion of the officials, "to Question the integrity and veracity of any officer or member" or tending "to weaken the position of the organization in a strike---or scale settlement" was first submitted to the lodges in a special circular. A majority vote decided whether or not it should be submitted to a referendum. It was further provided that the constitution as amended June 1st. should go into effect August 1st, and be the law for a year.[20]

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[19] Const., 1912, p. 9.

[20] In 1916, three changes were effected: (a) the national executive board was empowered to offer amendments for referendum vote; (b) the amended constitution went into effect Sept. 1st, one

Thus far the results of the referendum vote have by no means vindicated its adoption.[21] The essential defect lay in the small vote cast. A small percentage of the membership voted on the propositions. The total vote cast upon the constitutional amendments made by the convention of 1912 was 534, or twelve per cent; in 1916, 1176 votes, or sixteen per cent. The maximum vote on any single referendum during the year was less than two thousand, (1925); the minimum, 944; the average, 1394, or barely twenty-five per cent. These results may be seen in the appended table.

During the year 1914--1915, a proposal was submitted to popular vote, giving the A. F. of L. power to levy and collect a tax or assessment on the members of affiliated unions to support strikes of a general character. It was adopted by a vote of 560 to 384; the total vote cast being 944, or 14 per cent of the membership. This vote is ridiculously small, in view of the importance of the issue, which affected the income of every member.

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month later, except in case of (c) a referendum initiated by a local lodge or the executive board during the year.--If approved by a majority vote, the proposition became effective thirty days after its adoption, and was printed in the Journal until the constitution was reprinted. In the opinion of several of the officials, this latter will not endure long.

[21] There is official authority for the belief that the initiative and referendum will, before many years, wear itself out and "be thrown on the rubbish heap."

Table Showing the Percentage of

Membership Voting on Referendum Propositions.

Year	Total Membership	Votes Cast for Convention Amendments	Per Cent Membership Voting	Votes Cast for Amendments During Year.	Per Cent Membership Voting.
1912-'13	4318	534	12	1416*	33
1913-'14	6304	758	12	1763	28
1914-'15	6880	1091	16	944	14
1915-'16	7283	1176	16		
Average	6196	890	14	1374	25

* Average votes on five amendments, of 988, 1088, 1925, and 1163 respectively.

CHAPTER III

JURISDICTION [OF THE AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON, STEEL AND TIN WORKERS]

"The primary aim in the formation of a trade union", according to Professor Barnett,[1] "is to obtain unity of action among the workmen in that trade. For the attainment of effective unity it is indispensible that within a given territory there shall be but one union". Accordingly, it is the custom of each national union to lay claim to the class or classes of workmen from which it expects to recruit its membership. These claims are called territorial jurisdiction and membership jurisdiction respectively. Every national trade union must carefully define and enforce its claims and those of its local societies both as to territory and to membership.

The Iron and Steel Workers found no great difficulty in defining the classes of workmen over which each subordinate union should have jurisdiction. By reserving to itself the right to determine what classes of employees should be eligible to membership in the local societies, the national union virtually eliminated the question of membership jurisdiction so far as the subordinate lodges were concerned. Among the

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[1] G. E. Barnett, "The Printers", p. 41.

early organizations--the Vulcans, the Heaters and the Roll Hands--only "practical workmen", that is, journeymen, were within the jurisdiction of the union for the purpose of organization and admission to membership. Each local union controlled the regular admission of persons at work within its own jurisdiction, and only the more highly skilled workmen gained admittance. Even after the Association had opened its doors to helpers and other classes of semi-skilled workers, local unions not infrequently discriminated against them at the ballot-box.

The Union has uniformly refused to allow local unions to be divided on the basis of nationality. Agitation for separate unions of German members arose in the earlier societies. In 1872, the national president of the Vulcans suggested the establishment of a German branch and the creation of a national official to issue charters to German forges wherever advisable. The delegates, particularly those of German origin, opposed the movement, and Julius Arnd refused to accept the presidency of such a branch, if established, on the ground that it was not "necessary".[2] In 1874, there was a similar agitation among the Roll Hands to grant separate charters to German local lodges, but no action was taken. It was decided, however, to have two hundred (200) copies of the constitution and by-laws printed in the German language. The Roll Hands at no

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[2] Vulcan Record, Vol. 1, No. 10, p. 22.

time had more than 500 members, so it is apparent that a considerable percentage of their membership were German-speaking workmen.[3]

The general policy of the Union has been to divide the larger local organizations on the basis of trade. In the early history of the union, when the local societies were small, no such regulation was necessary. But, as the local societies grew in size, it was found expedient for the boilers to be in one local union, the finishers in another, and the steel workers in a third. In 1883, for example, the finishers complained that they were not adequately represented in the annual meeting, and threatened to secede. The establishment of separate unions of finishers and boilers put an end to this growing dissatisfaction. Applicants for admission to membership in the union were required to join the lodge governing the trade in which they were employed. The same rule applied to members who took out travelling cards and moved from one locality to another. Such a member must deposit his card in the local union in whose jurisdiction he was to work. In 1891, a further subdivision was made, providing for separate subordinate lodges for tonnage men and men working by the day or by the hour.[4]

The problem of defining the territorial jurisdiction of subordinate unions proved even more simple. At the outset, the Puddlers organized a forge wherever a nucleus of a half-

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[3] Proceedings, 1874, p. 25.

[4] Constitution, 1891, Art. XXIII, Sec. 1.

dozen workmen could be found willing to assume the responsibility of a charter. These forges were located at convenient centers. There was usually one forge to a city in which one or more mills were located. When conditions seemed to warrant it, a new society was chartered in the same city. Accordingly, in any one city, a local forge might have members working in several mills. In 1873, in order to put an end to this state of confusion, the territory assigned to a forge was made co-extensive with a particular "mill". Members obtaining permanent employment in a mill under the jurisdiction of another forge were required to transfer their membership to that forge. In 1880, when some of the larger societies were subdivided according to trade, or allied trades, a further limitation of the jurisdiction of a subordinate union became necessary. In case of two or more lodges in the same mill, a local union had jurisdiction, not over the entire mill, but only over a particular department in the mill. This simple plan was very fortunate since it prevented conflicts between the local societies as to any particular territory from which to increase their membership. The rule then adopted has remained in force.

In the matter of national jurisdiction the situation has been less favorable. Not only has the Union had its membership claims disputed, but it has time and again been forced to struggle in order to preserve its territorial jurisdiction intact. The controversies have resulted in dual-union disputes.

"In a dual-union dispute", according to Dr. Whitney,[5] "the jurisdiction claimed by one of the disputants is either exactly coextensive with that claimed by the other or is entirely included within it". In other words, it is a dispute not as to whose trade the particular work belongs to, but merely as to what union shall have control over the workers in a particular trade. A dual union, then, is "an organization which claims the right to maintain itself as a body independent of, and usually rival to, another association controlling the same classes of workmen and operating within the same territory." The Association has never experienced any serious demarcation disputes.

The tendency of the national union has been to widen the scope of its territorial jurisdiction. When the puddlers formed a permanent organization and adopted a constitution in 1862, they gave it the title, "Grand Forge of the United States, United Sons of Vulcan". Thus, at the very outset, the Union claimed the right to organize in all the territory embraced in the United States. An identical claim was inaugurated by the Heaters in 1872, and the Roll Hands in 1873. The three unions, when they linked arms in 1876, called themselves the "Amalgamated Association of Iron, and Steel Workers of the United States." In 1882, Canada was included within the juris-

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[5] Whitney, N.R. , "Jurisdiction in American Building-Trades Unions", p. 62.

diction of the Amalgamated Association.[6] Again, in 1908, the National Union extended its jurisdiction to include all of North America. This action was taken to preclude the possibility of a dual organization in Canada. Local unions have been organized in Canada and in Mexico from time to time, but most of the unions have been short-lived. Jurisdiction beyond the confines of the United States has been potential rather than actual.[7]

Similarly, the membership jurisdiction of the Union has been constantly widened to an ever increasing extent. The Vulcans admitted none but "puddlers and boilers". The Heaters included in their number rollers and roughers, as well as heaters, but refused admission to all other classes of workmen. Partly as a reaction against the undemocratic Heaters' Union, who granted membership only to the highly paid men, the Roll Hands' Union was organized, and its membership consisted of practically all men working around the train of rolls-catchers, hookers, buggymen, straighteners, as well as rollers and roughers. Both the Heaters and the Roll Hands claimed the right to organize rollers and roughers, and to this extent there was an overlapping of jurisdiction. These two organization were of short duration, and their consolidation with the Vulcans put an end to all craft disputes.

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[6] Proceedings, 1882, p. 956.

[7] In 1885, the Association lost the only lodge it then had in Canada, Ontario Lodge located at Hamilton; Canada was considered "more expense than gain" (Proc.1885, pp. 1574, 1669). Its readmission was left to the discretion of the president. (Proc.1887, p. 2118).

Since its formation, the Amalgamated Association has consisted exclusively of skilled workmen. At the outset, only "puddlers, boilers, heaters, roll hands, nailers, hammermen and helpers" were admitted.[8] Helpers had been consistently debarred by the constituent organizations, and their admission to membership at first encountered strong opposition. Though eligible, they were frequently discriminated against. Prior to 1877, large classes, of workmen, skilled as well as unskilled, were ineligible to membership. In this year, four new classes of semi-skilled workmen, namely, knobblers, turners, boiler plate men, and sheet-iron shearmen, might be admitted.[9] In 1887, the president proposed that "all branches of labor directly interested in the manufacture of iron and steel should be made eligible to membership." The measure was adopted in 1889, admitting "all men working in and around rolling mills, tin mills, steel works, nail, tack, spike, bolt and nut factories, and all works run in connection with the same, except laborers". Laborers might be admitted at the discretion of the subordinate lodge.[10] Foremen have been consistently excluded from membership.[11] With the exception of including chain works in the list

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8 Constitution and by-laws, 1876, p. 6.

9 Proceedings, 1877, pp. 50, 74-77.

10 Ibid., 1887, pp. 1953, 2118; Ibid., 1888, p. 2352; Ibid., 1889, pp. 2686, 2687, 2791; Constitution, 1910, Art.1,Sec1.

11 Constitution and by-laws, 1912, Art. XVII, Sec. 16.

of mills and factories, the membership jurisdiction of the Association has remained unchanged.[12] In 1911, as a result of the agitation for industrial unionism, the Association has opened its doors to laborers, thus extending its jurisdiction to embrace all men in the iron, steel and tin industry.[13] Immigrant skilled workmen have ordinarily been admitted without discrimination, or so far as possible have been affiliated in separate local unions. Now and then, particularly in the eighties, a cry of protest against the large numbers of incoming aliens has been heard. In 1879, the secretary communicated with the Amalgamated Ironworkers' Society of Great Britain concerning immigration to this country, deploring the condition on the ground that "bad results would accrue from an influx of people to our shores, and for whom there was no possible chance of employment".[14] In consequence of the large immigration and importation of laborers under contract, the Amalgamated Association, in 1884, as did many other trade unions about this time, urged upon Congress the enactment of restrictive legislation,[15] and began to discriminate against immigrant workmen in admission regulations. A rule requiring citizenship of members was frequently proposed as a national provision.[16]

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[12] The Association has always rigidly adhered to the principle of trade union autonomy. This was the crux of the dispute with the Knights of Labor. In 1888, furnace builders were refused membership, because the Bricklayers claimed juris-

To what extent the unskilled workmen will be organized in subordinate lodges is uncertain. They are not unlikely to

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diction over them. (Proceedings, 1888, p. 2273). For similar reasons, water tenders, stationary engineers and firemen were not admitted at Springfield, Ill., in 1900 (Proceedings, 1900, p. 5845). Yet, the Association in 1907 refused to grant to the Electrical Workers jurisdiction over men in charge of the crane and charging machine in the open-hearth plant at Granite City, Ill., "simply because the machine had electricity for its motive power" (Proceedings, 1907, pp. 7922-24); and the Electrical Workers did not force their claim before the American Federation of Labor. Too, in 1916, the Blacksmiths claimed jurisdiction over the bolt and nut workers at Kansas City, Mo., but the Amalgamated has held that they are not blacksmiths and the union will not relinquish its jurisdiction over them. (Proceedings, 1916, pp. 11521-23)

[13] A "Central Secret Lodge" was established in 1904, for the purpose of enlisting as members workmen employed in non-union plants. John Pierce, at that time general organizer, was made president, and Joseph Bowers, who has up to the present had charge of the beneficiary features of the union, secretary.

The following rules, with reference to membership in the secret lodge, were adopted: (1) Applications must be endorsed by the vice-president of the district or division. (2) Applicants must be working in a mill where no Amalgamated lodge exists. (3) Withdrawal or honorary cards must be applied

suffer discrimination as did the helpers in the earlier days. The advantage of such an alliance bulks greatly in favor of the unskilled. A vast organization of unskilled workers in all industries does not seem possible, since the constant tide of immigration during normal times makes any effective regulation of the supply of general laborers impracticable.[17] The skilled can gain but very little. It entails a sacrifice upon the skilled, who will have to fight the battles of the unskilled. On the

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for by members leaving the locality or the trade thro the secretary of the Central Lodge. (4) The initiation fee was two dollars, and the quarterly dues $1.90, payable in advance. (5) No strike benefits were paid, but members in good standing were entitled to death benefits. (6) A member who was suspended and refused to be reinstated was "stigmatized a non-union man".

The Central Lodge dates from September 24, 1904, and is now existent. It has not, however, justified the large hopes held by those who advocated its establishment. In 1906 , it was decided to enforce the spirit of the law, that laborers be admitted "for the good of the association".

[14] Proceedings, 1880, pp. 363, 366.

[15] Ibid., 1884, p. 1390.

[16] Ibid., 1888, pp. 2482, 2497.

[17] Glocker, T. W., "Amalgamation of Related Trades in Unions", American Economic Review, Sept., 1915, pp. 572-575.

other hand, the introduction of machinery has forced many of the highly-skilled trades from their position of aloofness. As division of labor becomes more minute, as the old method of apprenticeship fails, and as the groups of skilled and semi-skilled are being recruited by the promotion of the common laborers to an ever increasing extent, there is a growing tendency to admit such potentially dangerous competitors to the union. The growing spirit of class consciousness may effect a satisfactory alliance of skilled and unskilled.

The Iron and Steel Workers, in 1913, widened the scope of its membership jurisdiction by the merger of the Tin Plate Workers International Protective Association[18] with the Amalgamated Association. The Tin Plate Workers' Union was instituted in 1898, and it was composed of what were commonly known as "wash house" men.[19] At the time of its organization, only seven out of twenty-one tin plate plants had local unions. The Amalgamated Association had organized principally the hot mill men, but it felt that the tin house workmen could best serve their own interests by having a separate organization, and arranging their own scale.[20] The organization was never large

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[18] Tin plate is an infant industry. Only since 1890 has it been demonstrated that it could be manufactured in the United States at a profit. Plants sprang into existence with mushroom-like rapidity. Wages, even of skilled men, in the tinning department were low. In this department, the actual coating of the steel or iron plate is done. Tin plate is coated with molten pig tin, terne plate (terne, Latin for 'lead') with a preparation of tin and lead.

numerically, having at the time of its affiliation with the Amalgamated about 500 members.

The difficulties encountered with the trust, and the gradual loss of control of the sheet and tin industry--that is,

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(18 Cont'd) In response to a call issued by President Gompers, nine delegates representing six local tin plate workers' unions and one federal labor union met at the Kansas City convention of the American Federation of Labor in December, 1898, for the purpose of forming a national organization of tin plate workers. On the 17th of that month, the Tin Plate Workers' International Protective Association of America was instituted. It was chartered by the American Federation of Labor on the 18th of the following January.

At the first convention, held the succeeding May in Columbus, O., the secretary reported sixteen local unions in good standing with a substantial gain in membership. George Powell was elected president, and T. F. Berry secretary-treasurer. The other officers were: William O. Moore, first vice-president; John Rombold, second vice president; Hugh Scanlon, third vice president; Charles E. Lawyer, A. H. Fox, H. E. Barrett, trustees. A constitution similar to the Amalgamated was adopted, its government and system of collective bargaining being identical.

The union, tho never very powerful, and never allowing itself to be drawn into a general strike, enjoyed a fair measure of success. (American Federationist, Vol. X, p. 841, article by Secretary-Treasurer Charles E. Lawyer.)

the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company--lent impetus to the movement to consolidate. An invitation was extended the Tin Plate Workers to join with the Amalgamated as early as 1906.[21] When the iron and steel workers were involved in the 1910 strike, the American Federation of Labor advised consolidation, and the following convention of the union gave the executive board full power to act.[22]

Nothing definite was done until June, 1913, when the executive board met and outlined the terms of consolidation. These were presented at a joint meeting of both organizations July 30 of that year, and the arrangement was agreed to. The Amalgamated Association was given "full and complete jurisdiction", and President W. S. Hunt, of the Tin Plate Workers, was employed in the capacity of organizer. Local tin plate unions, it was agreed, should receive charters and supplies free of charge, and should be required to pay no initiation fee, except the regular two-dollars for insurance.[23]

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[19] The Tin Plate Workers also admitted female employees. At the time of consolidation, the local union at Steubenville,O., had a few female members. These became members of the Amalgamated. There are none now belonging to the Association, however.

[20] Proceedings, 1900, pp. 5718, 5762.

[21] Ibid., 1906, p. 7761.

[22] Ibid., 1910, p. 8843.

[23] Ibid., 1914, p. 10428.

The Association from the beginning made no discrimination against negroes by constitutional provision.[24] They were not to any considerable extent engaged in the industry, and of the few that were all available evidence supports the conclusion that none were admitted.[25] In 1877, the Union refused to declare them eligible, but in 1881 provided for their inclusion within the class of eligible persons, "past experience having taught the craft that they were indispensible".[26] Wherever possible, separate lodges of colored members were organized, as, for example, Garfield Lodge in Pittsburgh in 1887. The number of negroes in the organization, however, has never been large.

The aim of the Association, while occasional protests are heard against the admission of incompetents,[27] has been to make the conditions of membership as favorable as possible. There is no provision in the rules for a specified term of apprenticeship as a requisite for membership. The "helper" system has made such a regulation unnecessary, since the helper has an opportunity of watching the work of a journeyman and of thus acquiring a trade. Despite much opposition, it was found necessary to admit helpers into the union at an early

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[24] The early unions out of which the Amalgamated was formed did not admit the colored workman. Even after the Association was formed, the white workman refused to work with him or afford him any protection. Such was the case in a controversy at Beaver Falls. Accordingly, colored men "scabbed" on

date. A two-thirds vote is required to admit and to expel, and a trial is granted before expulsion. The expelled member is also allowed the right of appeal to the ultimate authority in the national union. The Association has considered a few cases of appeals by non-members who were rejected for insufficient cause, and has made certain persons members-at-large, though the Union has not specifically recognized this right. Not infrequently members who were expelled by subordinate lodges have been reinstated by the National Union. Expelled work-

the strikers in the mills at Pittsburgh and Homestead. Membership in the union was offered the negro only after he had made himself indispensible to the organization. Recent attempts have been made to organize the colored workmen, (See Proceedings 1905, p. 7255; also 1908, pp. 8259-60, 8333, 8340), but without much success. In general, Unionism has been more of a hindrance than a help to the "nigger". (See Wage-Earning Pittsburgh, "One Hundred Negro Steel Workers", by R. R. Wright, Jr., pp. 106-109).

[25] The men in the Birmingham, Ala., Rolling Mill, and other plants in the South refused to work with the "nigger", even tho they were legally eligible to union membership. (Proceedings, 1900, p. 5874; Ibid., 1905, p. 7255.)

[26] Ibid., 1876, p. 82; Ibid., 1881, p. 708.

[27] Ibid., 1884, p. 1363.

men may be readmitted after one month.[28] The National Union may grant an "amnesty"; in 1882, for example, a rule was adopted permitting subordinate lodges to "whitewash" any former member.[29] In case a local union through personal feeling makes the terms of readmission unwarrantably difficult, the constitution enables the applicant to obtain an impartial consideration of his claims to favorable terms by the national authorities. Since 1887, it has provided for the readmission of expelled members by national officers in cases where the subordinate lodge refuses to grant a membership card or makes the terms exorbitant.[30] By maintaining liberal conditions of membership and a strong centralized control, the Association has been able to spread its jurisdiction over the vast majority of skilled men in the industry.

The Amalgamated Association, though clearly defining the classes of workmen who were eligible to membership, has virtually declared from the beginning that their jurisdiction covered the entire iron and steel industry. This claim on the part of the Union to exclusive control over all workmen has aroused constant opposition among those who were not members of the organization. These non-unionists have held that it was an interference with individual liberty. The Association declared, in rejoinder, that, inasmuch as the Union maintained wages for unionists and non-unionists alike, every person in

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28 Constitution and by-laws, 1912, Art. XXXV, Sec. 3.

29 Proceedings, 1882, p. 975.

30 Constitution and by-laws, 1887, Art. XIII, Sec. 5; 1912, Art. XXXV, Sec. 3.

the industry eligible to membership who refused to join the union was trespassing on its jurisdiction.[31] Accordingly, a member of the union was not allowed to "render any assistance, or loan his tools" to a non-unionist. The greatest good of the greatest number was offered by the Union in justification of its claim to exclusive jurisdiction.

During the history of the Amalgamated Association, no distinct trade organization, that is, a trade union whose members did not previously belong to the Association, has ever disputed its jurisdiction. A possible exception to this statement is the Knights of Labor.[32] The Knights of Labor was a completely dual organization to all trade unions, in that it sought to unite all workmen in one large union "without regard to nationality, sex, creed or color".[33] In 1880, the Knights of Labor admitted negroes, and in 1885 the niggers flocked the ranks of the order in the South.[34] The aim of the Knights, as stated in the preamble to their constitution, was "to assist

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[31] A rule was passed, in 1916, that a committee should ask a new workman for his membership certificate (issued when a member changes localities), and if he has none, he is forced to sign an order on the firm for fifty cents per turn until there is sufficient amount to draw his card. Non-members are forced to join; otherwise the men refuse to work with him.

[32] The knights of Labor was a distinct movemant toward labor amalgamation. It had its beginning in a disbanded Garment Cutters' Union of Philadelphia as early as 1869, under the

every member to better his condition morally, socially and financially"--a rather liberal aim. Members might be admitted

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title of the Garment Cutters' Assembly of the Knights of Labor. Its early growth was slow, its first report in 1871 showing only 69 members. A permanent organization with strongly centralized control was effected in 1878, under the name of the "General Assembly of the Knights of Labor of North America". (See, William Kirk, "National Labor Federations", pp. 19-20; also, Carroll D. Wright, "An Historical Sketch of the Knights of Labor," in Quarterly Journal of Economics, Jan., 1887, p. 145.) Among its objects, the most important were "to bring within the folds of organization every department of productive industry" and "to secure to the toilers a proper share of the wealth they create". (Proceedings, Gen'l Assembly, K. of L., 1878, pp. 29-38.) During the years 1879 to 1881, the Knights displayed considerable vigor in organizing new locals, and, though in full accord with the general labor movement, developed along lines opposed to that principle of trade unionism known as trade autonomy, and to that extent it failed to satisfy the advocates of a national federation of trades. It disregarded trade boundaries in a large measure, and placed in the hands of the General Assembly "full and final jurisdiction" in all matters pertaining to the local and district assemblies. The District Assembly in turn possessed power within its district to "decide appeals and settle controversies within or between local assemblies". (Proceedings, Gen'l Assembly, K. of L., 1878, pp. 29 ff).

at sixteen, except in case of organizing a new local assembly. Ten members of at least eighteen years of age was the minimum

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(32) cont'd Partly as a reaction against this highly centralized form of government, and partly to carry out the original idea of a national federation of autonomous trade unions, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, with John Jarrett, President of the Iron and Steel Workers, as temporary chairman, was formed in 1881, and this organization in 1886 was transformed into the American Federation of Labor.

No agreement could be effected with the Knights of Labor to remove the friction between them and the trade unions, who charged the Knights with aiding unfair employers in their fight against the unions, the initiation of "scabs", working below the union scale, and ignoring hours of labor set by the unions. (Cigarmakers' Journal, June, 1886, p. 7; Proceedings, Carpenters and Joiners, 1888, pp. 18-19. Nat'l Labor Tribune, May 22, 1886, p. 1, c. 4; Proc., Bricklayers and Masons, 1886, pp. 64ff.) The constitution of the American Federation of Labor was designed to protect the interests of trade unions. The Knights reached their greatest numerical strength in this year, and from this time forth steadily declined until today they play an inconsiderable part in the labor movement. The American Federation of Labor, on the other hand, has advanced with rapid strides.

[33] Proceedings, General Assembly, Knights of Labor, 1884, p. 780. (Constitution.).

[34] Wolfe, F. E ,"Admission to American Trade Unions",p. 116.

number required to obtain a charter, and three-fourths of thes must be "wage-earners or farmers".[35]

The Knights of Labor was organized by industries, rather than by trades, so that an iron and steel local assembly would include in its ranks all men working in a single mill, both skilled and unskilled. Indeed, the Knights sometimes embraced all sorts of workmen, including common laborers and gas producer men. The influence of the Knights of Labor upon the Amalgamated Association is apparent, leading it to break down its policy of admitting only tonnage men, in order to meet the competition of a rival organization.

Continual friction between the local unions of the Knights of Labor and the Amalgamated Association existed in those places where both organizations had members working in the same mill. In 1883, a Pittsburgh labor paper[37] stated that the steel workers of Braddock, Pennsylvania, had had their wages reduced steadily for the last five years, and declared that this was due to weakness, resulting from a division of the union forces into two separate organizations. In December of this year, the men of the Edgar Thomson Steel Works at Braddock, were notified of a reduction of thirteen per cent, to take effect at the beginning of the next year. A joint committee of the local unions of the Association and the Knights of Labor held a conference with the company, and were informed that the reduction was to affect only the tonnage men. This affected every member of the Amalgamated Association, but only a small

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35 Proceedings, Knights of Labor, 1884, pp. 780-781. (Constitution. , Ibid.)
36 Fitch, The Steel Workers, p. 111.
37 National Labor Tribune, Dec. 22, 1883.

number of the Knights of Labor. The assemblies of the Knights whose members, working by the day, the reduction would not affect, and who were requested to quit work in case of a strike, refused to act in any way. This meant, of course, that they would continue work; and the tonnage men, as they had done the year previous, accepted the reduction.

The most serious dispute, between the Association and the Knights of Labor occurred in 1887 at the plant commonly known as the Mingo Steel Works (Laughlin and Junction Steel Co.), Mingo Junction, O.[38] After the United Nailers were readmitted to the Amalgamated Association, the men were disorganized, and many joined the Knights of Labor. The skilled men of the nail factory, however, organized an Amalgamated lodge, so as to get the higher scale. The local union was composed of heaters, rollers, and roll hands of the nail mill. One day a crane broke, and since the Knights of Labor agreement, under which the men were working, provided that "only actual tonnage" be paid for, the men, realizing it would require several hours to repair the crane, and that they would not get a day's work, went home. The manager next morning discharged them. It might also be stated that at Bellaire, O., under similar circumstances, if the Company requested the men to remain at work, they received an average day's wages.

Both unions, each claiming jurisdiction, took up negotiations in an attempt to effect a settlement. The executive committee of the Amalgamated legalized a strike on the 10th of

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[38] Proceedings, 1887, pp. 1935-45; Nat'l Labor Tribune, Feb. 26 and Mar. 5, 1887.

February. A joint committee of both organizations was suggested, but refused. The Knights declared the mill open, and endeavored to start up the mill. The manager, after ten days, seeing the Knights were unable to operate the plant, arranged a conference with the Amalgamated Association, and signed a scale, in which working conditions were made similar to those at Bellaire, O.

In 1886, the Knights of Labor invited the Amalgamated to join them.[39] The matter was submitted to a vote of the local unions, and almost unanimously refused. The next convention forbade members of the Association to belong to the Knights "after April 1, 1888".[40] This action served to accentuate the breach between the two organizations. The Knights organized "National District Assembly 217, Iron and Blast Furnacemen, Steel Knights of Labor" and applied to the American Federation of Labor for a charter which was not granted.[41] Officers were elected; John Conklin, Master Workman; William H. Lewis, Secretary; and Thomas Clark, Organizer. To this branch of the organization, the Knights admitted, in the words of Secretary Martin, "anybody and everybody working in and around rolling mills and steel mills". The first annual convention was held in Pittsburgh, June 4, 1888, and eighty delegates were reported from eight different states.[42] Secretary Martin, in order to effectively

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39 Proceedings, 1886, pp. 1806-08.

40 National Labor Tribune, June 25, 1887, p. 4, c. 3; Proceedings, 1887, p. 2129.

41 Financial Statement for Quarter ending Oct. 31, 1889, p. 4.

42 National Labor Tribune, June 9, 1888, p. 1, c. 5.

counteract the inroads of the Knights of Labor, advised all Amalgamated unions to "take in every man in the mills outside of common labor, and him, too, if necessary." Thus the influence of the Knights upon the Amalgamated Association served, in a measure, to democratize the union.[43]

Similar disagreements with the Knights took place at Benwood, W. Va., in 1888 and 1889, as the result of conflicting wage scales; also, at the Chicago Steel Works, as late as 1892. The Knights of Labor, however, did not succeed in getting control of any great number of mills. After the formation of the American Federation of Labor, the power of the Knights waned, and it has since played no important part in the organization of the iron and steel trade.

Similarly, in recent years, the Industrial Workers of the World have been showing not a little activity organizing local unions in iron and steel mills.[44] Like the Knights of Labor, the I. W. W. is a dual union with respect to all craft unions. This has been recognized by the Association which forbade

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[43] Secretary Martin, in urging the local unions to admit the unskilled, said: "Be liberal and admit to membership the men whom the Knights of Labor are playing to reduce wages.--We mean the unskilled workmen.---Yes, even the daily laborer. We have nothing to lose and all to gain by the admittance of these men. All they ask is recognition. Failing to get that, they naturally seek and get in the Knights of Labor". He chided the local unions for being "aristocratic" and "narrow". (Financial Statement for Quarter ending Jan. 31, 1888, p. 5.)

[44] In 1906, the I. W. W. were trying to secure a foot-

its members to unite with the I. W. W., on the ground that it was a dual organization.

The Amalgamated Association has had its most serious difficulties with dual unions arising thro sectional secessions from the national union. Composed as it is of various trades, each with its particular problems which it is clamoring to have brought to the foremost attention of the union, the Association has had a never-ending struggle to preserve peace among the members of the different groups of workmen. At first, the puddlers were in control and ran the union largely to suit themselves. Later, the finishers outvoted the puddlers, and thus were largely able to shape policies. When the puddlers ruled, the finishers complained; and when the finishers gained control, the puddlers were disgruntled. Hence there have been dissensions and secessions.

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hold at Reading, Pa., by scattering literature, talking to the men, and making arrangements for meetings. (Proceedings, 1906, pp. 7494, 7500, p. 7678). In 1910, the Clark Rolling Mill, of Massillon, O., was placed on the prohibitive list, because the men refused to organize; whereupon, the men formed a local of the I. W. W. "with the consent of the manager". (Proceedings, 1910, p. 8859). In 1915, a disruptionist movement was originated in the Wheeling district by certain malcontents, advocating industrial unionism, but President Williams replied that the Association would "never become the tail of a kite to any seceding organization, particularly one of the character of the I.W.W."

In 1882, the finishers were dissatisfied because they were outnumbered by the puddlers and not adequately represented in the annual meetings, and there was agitation for a reorganization and some discussion of a new union.[45] Similarly, in 1883, a local union of Terre Haute, Ind., issued a circular which had as its motive the withdrawal of the boilers and a reorganization of the old "Sons of Vulcan". The president of the national union threatened to revoke its charter unless the local union retracted the action, and the Terre Haute union renounced the circular by a small majority. President Jarrett had urged as a means of lessening the friction between the finishers and the boilers the organization of separate lodges for the crafts. This plan was, a little later, put into effect and the dissension was temporarily settled.

The nailers seceded from the Union in 1885. The nailer was a workman who had been accustomed to good wages. Due to the introduction of machinery, there was so considerable an increase in productive capacity that nail manufacturers restricted the output. Nail mills were not infrequently idle six months in a year, yet new machines were constantly being added to old plants, and occasionally a new factory was built. Machines were multiplied to such an extent that no probable demand of a very prosperous year could have maintained the nailers in work greatly over half time. The result was obvious; there was no prospect of

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[45] Proceedings, 1882, p. 967; 1883, pp. 1113-14.

steady employment. In addition to the dissatisfaction traceable to oversupply, the nailers had two other grievances. First, the law provided that the number of apprentices to be taken on should "not exceed two per cent (outside of Nailors' sons) of the machines per annum."[46] Some years, the nailers would not admit the legal quota, and in that case the Association granted the employer the privilege of hiring "green hands" up to the two per cent mark. To this the nailers found objection. Again, there was dispute as to the price for cutting steel nails. The scale convention held in Pittsburgh, Apr. 5, 1884, adopted a footnote making the price for cutting nails out of steel twenty per cent extra "when harder than iron". Not a few nailing lodges in the vicinity of Wheeling refused to abide by the scale, some even claiming a preference of cutting steel to iron. This caused an altercation with the boilers who, when the nailers continued to cut steel for the same price as iron, were thrown out of work. Hershey Lodge, of Bellaire, O., in January, 1885, issued a circular "to the nailing fraternity", charging the Association with partiality to the puddlers and discrimination against the nailers, and calling for a meeting of the nailers in Wheeling on the 5th of February. Hershey Lodge, upon its refusal to rescind its action, had its charter revoked two weeks later. This local union then began to agitate the withdrawal of the nailers from the Amalgamated Association, and issued a call for a convention of nailers to be held in Wheeling, on the second of April, 1885. At this convention a resolution was passed to withdraw,

[46] Constitution, 1884, p. 36.

and the new organization was called "The United Nailers of America".[47]

Practically all lodges of nailers voluntarily withdrew and allied themselves with the new organization. The few that remained, for example, Belleville, Ill., the Amalgamated advised to join the United Nailers, so that the new union would be free to arrange their scale for the next year without interference. According to Secretary Martin, the loss occasioned by the secession of nailers was 835; of these, 153 were nail feeders. John K. Weir was elected president of the Nailers. The first annual convention was held in Wheeling July 14, 1885, and lasted four days. Delegates were present from the neighboring states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky only. Nail plate heaters and rollers were admitted, and the name changed to "The Nailers' and Nail Plate Rollers' and Heaters' Association". The wage scale occupied most of the delegates' attention.

The Nailers, because of their hatred of the nail feeders who took their jobs, refused to admit the feeders. The nail feeders, accordingly, organized a sectional union, known as the "Nail Feeders Union of the Ohio Valley".[48] So, too, those feeders who were opposed to taking the nailers' places organized a similar short-lived organization, "The United Nailers, Rollers and Heaters of the United States".[49]

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[47] Proceedings, 1885, p. 1558-59.

[48] National Labor Tribune, April 25, 1885, p. 4, c. 2.

[49] Ibid., Sep. 5, 1885.

The Nailers, during their existence as a separate organization, had anything but smooth sailing. Jilted in an attempt at a conference with the Western Nail Association, unsuccessful in the maintenance of a wage scale, in frequent bickerings with the recalcitrant nail feeders, they turned for protection back to the mother arms of the Amalgamated. When the twenty-three delegates met in Pittsburgh, June 1, 1886, not not a voice opposed the proposition to apply for readmission. The Amalgamated met in June, and nine of the nailers presented the petition, "most respectfully" begging "your honorable body to allow us to return to the protecting wing of the Amalgamation"; and to it were appended a long list of names. The request was granted, not quite unanimously, and the Amalgamated undertook to settle the nailers' strike then in progress. A compromise scale was effected and signed, and after the bitter feeling between the nailers and feeders subsided, the nail feeders were likewise gradually reorganized.

Factional feeling and internal strife were rampant throughout the nineties. At different times, the puddlers manifested a rebellious spirit, though no definite action was taken. Roll-turners,[50] tin plate workers,[51] wire drawers,[52] rod mill men,[53] --each, in turn, threatened the union with secession and the formation of separate organizations. These "Judases", says

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[50] Proceedings, 1894, p. 4564.

[51] Ibid., 1895, pp. 4808-12.

[52] Ibid. 1895, pp. 4812-13.

[53] Ibid., 1899, pp. 5626-27.

Vice-president Larkin, "appear in times of trouble", when the union is facing a reduction. In 1892, when the conflict with the Carnegie Steel Company was at its hottest, some finishers in the mills of Pittsburgh and Youngstown, principally, in an effort to dodge the strike tax for the enforcement of the close shop, formed a short-lived finishers' union called "The National Union of Iron and Steel Workers of the United States".[54] They enlisted a following under the promise of no assessment, and sought to get a scale signed so that their members might "black-sheep", under the guise of unionism. The inducement of no assessments had a distressing effect on the collection of the tax from members of the Association and, according to President Garland, "disheartened the men at Homestead to such a degree that they lost hope of winning the strike".[55] The Amalgamated refused to recognize the finishers as a rival organization, on the ground that it would form a "precedent" for any small group of seceders to demand recognition in the future. The Finishers' Union, with John D. Carey of Pitts burgh as president and P. J. Mundie of Youngstown secretary,[56] established temporary headquarters at Youngstown, O., but within a few years it disbanded and its members drifted back into the fold of the Amalgamated.

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[54] Proceedings, 1893, pp. 4324-27. It was composed of rollers, heaters, roughers, and catchers only. Chiefly rollers and heaters of Pittsburgh who allied themselves with the dual union.-(Pittsburgh Times, Oct. 30, 1892; Nat'l Labor Trib., Nov.5,'92.)

[55] Proceedings, 1893, pp. 4325, 4350-51.

[56] Geo. D. Gessaman of Youngstown was elected vice president. He and Mundie were salaried organizers. (Pitts. Times, Oct.30, '92)

Perhaps the most extensive disruption in the history of the Association was the secession of the puddlers in 1807. The cause of the defection,[57] in the vernacular of John H. Weigant, the leader and president of the mutinists, was that the puddlers had been "placed on a toboggan years ago", and were "still going down".[57,a] The movement originated in Brown's Tenth St. Mill, Pittsburgh. A meeting of puddlers, scrappers, and muck mill hands was called in the Old City Hall, on the 24th of February, and a temporary organization was effected. It has been estimated that the number in attendance was about 500.[58] At the next meeting,[59] held in the New Turner Hall, Sunday, March 10, the puddlers decided to withdraw in a body from the Amalgamated Association, and for "sentimental considerations" the new union assumed the title of the early puddlers' union, "Sons of Vulcan". John Weigant, a member of the original organization in the seventies was elected President, Michael McCune, secretary, and R. E. Hinton (otherwise known as "Policy Bob") organizer. The first convention was held in Pittsburgh in June of that year, and delegates from 16 lodges were present.[60] Headquarters were established in the Shannon Build-

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[57] The reason for the formation of a separate union of the puddlers, according to President McArdle, were "the failure of the Amalgamated Association to secure satisfactory conditions for the Boiling Department, and the belief that their interests can best be subserved by being independent of all other departments". (Proceedings, 1907, pp. 7914-15, 7918).

[57a] National Labor Trib., Feb. 21,1907.

[58] Ibid.; also, Proceedings, 1907, pp.7912-18,7989-91.

[59] Vice-president, Thomas Williams and Ben Jones, of the

ing, Pittsburgh. They sought to have a reciprocal agreement with the Amalgamated, but of course the Association would not for a moment consider such an arrangement. The Sons of Vulcan drew up a scale, which was a prototype of the Amalgamated scale, and, in the attempt to have it signed, came into conflict with the Association. Such was the case at Birmingham, Ala., McKees Rocks, Pa., and other places.

The Sons of Vulcan met with considerable success for several years. They had few lodges outside of the Pittsburgh and Youngstown districts, however. It is doubtful if, at any time, they had an active membership of over a thousand, altho they claimed a much larger number. Internal bickerings and dissension crept into the craft organization, and the last convention was held in Pittsburgh in 1913. Since that time, the Amalgamated has been gradually recouping itself of these lost members.[61]

Two radical outbreaks were initiated during the interval between the conventions of 1912 and 1913. The one was a secessionist movement, originating in the sheet and tin industry of Niles, Ohio. The aim in view was to include in its ranks "practically all workmen working in and about said industries, with one single exception--that is, the rollers".[62] The new organization, "The

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Amalgamated, were refused admittance to these meetings.

[60] National Labor Tribune, June 6, 1907.

[61] Proceedings, 1915, p. 10993.

[62] The roller, being the highest-priced workman, was naturally the object of envy of other workmen.

Industrial Iron and Steel Workers of America", in a manifesto, declared for direct action as a means of securing justice, and began the campaign by walking out of the Empire plant at Niles. The cooperation of the union and the employers prevented this insurgent movement from gaining any appreciable vogue.

The other disturbance was avowedly a movement within the parent organization, and not a secession from it. It was styled "The Progressive Movement of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers." It was an attempt to place the control of the Association in the hands of a democratic minority, who sought to reorganize the union on an industrial basis. The Progressives also advocated the extended use of the initiative and referendum, and the right of recall. These innovations have since been introduced. Since their adoption, the movement has lost its mainspring for action. The employers have always been on the side of the conservatives. They consider a trade agreement with the union, covering those men most indispensible to the trade, as a safeguard against a more democratic organization of their employees which might force terms for all in the mill. The unskilled laborers, from whom the future skilled men must be selected, are largely Southern Europeans whose allegiance to union principles is slight. These men, at present, are largely ignored by those who compose the union membership. If this democratic minority should gain control, it is probable that a reorganization would take place along industrial lines. The movement thus far has been unsuccessful.

CHAPTER IV

FINANCES

Early unions, because of their loosely organized condition, did not require large financial resources. The chief functions of a national union, in earlier days, were the supervision of a "travelling card" (by means of which a member moving from the jurisdiction of one local union to that of another, was entitled to all the privileges of membership therein), and the collection of voluntary contributions for the aid of local unions in conducting strikes.[1] Thus, the funds of the Heaters' Unions were never over a few hundred dollars.

Revenue. With these limitations, both in activity and in authority, the constituent organizations of the Iron and Steel Workers were granted revenues of an essentially meager character. A per capita tax was paid, at regular intervals, by each local union for the privilege of representation in the annual convention. In the case of the Roll Hands, it was a monthly assessment of twenty-five cents per member.[2] The Sons of Vulcan levied a "semi-annual tax", the amount per capita being fixed by the president and varying according to the funds required for general

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[1] Sakolski, A. M., The Finances of American Trade Unions, p. 11.

[2] Constitution, Iron and Steel Roll Hands, 1874, p. 11.

administrative purposes. After 1874, the tax was collected quarterly.[3]

As the Sons of Vulcan extended its functions, larger revenue was granted for the support of the union. The semi-annual tax gradually increased from twenty-five cents in 1867 to $1.25 in 1873. Delegates to convention in 1872 were paid wages for lost time, in addition to railway fare, by the national union. In 1873 a salary was paid the president. These expenditures were reflected in the increased capitation tax, as seen in the semi-annual assessments from 1867 to 1873:

Year	First Half Year	Second Half Year	Total
1867	25 cents	25 cents	50 cents
1868	50 "	30 "	80 "
1869	30 "	30 "	60 "
1870	50 "	50 "	$1.00
1871	50 "	25 "	75 "
1872	75 "	50 "	1.25
1873	50 "	$1.25	1.75

The "per capita tax" method of supporting a central fund for the use of the general organization was continued by the Amalgamated Association. It was a convenient fiscal device. The principle of local autonomy was preserved; and local unions appor-

[3] Vulcan Record, No. 14, pp. 18, 34; Constitution, 1874, p. 9.

tioned their funds to suit their own peculiar needs.[4] The local unions were financed by means of Monthly dues.[5]. From initiations, reinstatements, and fines[6] accrued some revenue, but these sources of income were of minor importance.

The amount of the fixed quarterly per capita tax has increased proportionately with the growth of functions and activities of the national organization. Too, the extension of the field of collective bargaining meant increased cost of administration. The quarterly assessment,[7] which in 1885 was twenty-five cents, was increased to fifty cents in 1900,[8] and since 1905

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[4] The so-called "community of funds" system (which provides for the merging of the local funds with the national resources) has never met with favor in the opinion of Association leaders.

[5] The monthly local dues of the Sons of Vulcan were fixed in 1870 at "not less than ten cents". (Vulcan Record, No. 6, p. 64).

[6] Members were fined ten cents for non-attendance at meetings without excuse; officers, fifty cents. Also, for various derelictions in conduct and duty. (Constitution, 1876, pp. 27-28; 1916, pp. 72-73.).

[7] In 1915, a plan of monthly payments was tried, but abandoned the next year as impracticable. (Proceedings, 1916, pp. 11550-51).

[8] In 1901, the session voted to decrease the per capita tax to forty cents quarterly. (Proceedings, 1901, p. 6084).

has been one dollar.[9] Journal dues of $1.20 annually were added in 1901, and raised to $1.50 in 1907. The convention frequently exempted lodges from the per capita assessment, if it was clearly presented that they were unable to pay.[10] The capitation tax was designed to cover ordinary administrative expenses, altho frequently the revenue from this source was insufficient and the deficit was transferred from the defense fund.[11] In 1914, this borrowing-from-Peter-to-pay-Paul method was remedied by the consolidation of all funds, for whatsoever purpose, into one general fund.[12]

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[9] Proceedings, 1905, p. 7217.

[10] Ibid., 1877, p. 88.

[11] The amounts taken from the protective fund to supplement the revenue for general expenses, from 1895 to 1914, were as follows:

Year	Amount	Year	Amount
1895	$10,000	1905	$26,700
1896	4,000	1906	12,600
1897	6,000	1907	3,200
1898	8,000	1908	7,200
1899	5,000	1909	11,400
1900	*	1910	13,200
1901	4,500	1911	5,500
1902	3,500	1912	12,000
1903	7,000	1913	8,500
1904	11,900	1914	13,000

* No deficit in general fund, due to the increase in the per capita tax from 25 to 40 cents.

An increase in the national revenue by means of an assessment of a higher per capita tax upon local unions carried with it, as a corollary, the requirement of higher dues from the individual members of the subordinate unions. The value of high dues and large treasury funds as a means of promoting the strength and stability of the organization had been generally recognized by the Association leaders, but the members were reluctant to grant more revenue until their immediate interests were involved. The big steel strike of 1901 was the most effective factor in breaking the persistent opposition to increased local dues. As the national per capita tax was assessed at a higher rate, local unions "jacked up" the per capita dues of its members.

The substitution of a tax on earnings for the capitation tax has been, at various times, discussed in meetings of the convention. In 1905, the session considered favorably the introduction of the "percentage system" for the collection of national dues. Two advantages of the new system were presented: the exemption of unemployed members from taxation, and a more equal distribution of the burden of taxation. The chief argument, in rejoinder, was the difficulty encountered in both the determination and the collection of dues by this method, and the opportunity thus afforded for dodging the tax.[13] Besides, it

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[12] In 1915, the deficit in the revenue collected from the dollar per capita tax would, otherwise, have been $8,259.76. (Proceedings, 1915, p. 11080.).

[13] Two years later, the percentage system of dues was

was the prerogative of local unions to cancel the dues of unemployed members, if they saw fit.

Altho the Association was unwilling to adopt the percentage system of local dues, it was clearly felt that the system of uniform dues was impracticable. Such a system lacked solidarity, since the union was based on an industry rather than a craft, and its membership differed widely as to occupation, skill, and earning capacity. In lieu of the rejected percentage system, a plan of graded dues was adopted in 1905. The dues of members were graded according to earning capacity as follows: members earning $2.50 per day or less were assessed a monthly rate of sixty-five cents; over $2.50 and less than $5.00, 80¢; and $5.00 or more, $1.00.[14] This system of dues, altho twice regraded,[15] has since continued in force.

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reconsidered, and the conference committee endeavored to arrange for their collection by employers. The employers expressed a willingness to enter into an agreement to collect the dues of union members--verbal, however, so as to obviate the possibility of legal complications,--but the matter was defeated by a referendum vote.

[14] Proceedings; 1905, p. 7217.

[15] The scales of dues, as graded in 1912 and in 1916, were as follows:

Daily Earnings	Monthly Dues. 1912	1916
Less than $2.50 #	$ .60	$ .85
$2.50 to $5.00	.80	1.05
5.00 to 7.50	1.25	1.25
7.50 " 10.00	1.25	1.50
10.00 to 15.00	1.50	1.75
15.00 and more.	1.75	2.00

(See p.101).

The national resources were partly made up of such incidental receipts as charter fees, initiation fees, fines, interest, and the income derived thro the sale of stationery and supplies.[16] The Journal also netted the organization an annual gain.[17] These sources of revenue require but brief consideration.

Charters were originally granted a newly-organized local union for the sum of five dollars. Supplies were purchased separately. Because of the fact that new organizations would deprive themselves of necessary supplies in order to save expense, the national union in 1887 decided to make the charge for organizing a local lodge $25. This included the cost of equipment requisite to carry on its business properly.

(15-Cont.) *In 1916, the dues were for all purposes; (Constitution, 1916, p. 70); in 1912, all excepting the death benefit fund, for which twenty-five cents per month was collected.

The monthly dues of laborers, earning $1.75 per day or less, were fixed as sixty-five cents.

[16] The per capita receipts from supplies from 1899 to 1902 were as follows:*

Year	Amount	Per Capita Receipts.
1899	$1414.46	$ .13
1900	2993.96	.21
1901	2994.57	.26
1902	4238.46	.33
1903	3458.39	.23

(* These figures are given by the union in the annual proceedings.).

[17] (See p.102)

Initiation fees mean a considerable item where the membership is growing and the personnel constantly changing.

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[17]The annual gain from the publication of the Journal was as follows: (Note: Fiscal years end March 31st.)

Year	Journal Receipts	Journal Expenditures	Ann'l Gain.
1899	First issue, October 8th.		
1900			$ 5058.11
1901			
1902			
1903	$ 15833.16	10910.61	4922.55
1904	15449.48	11319.04	4130.44
1905	12357.54	10414.67	1942.87
1906	12534.77	9668.40	2866.37
1907	14358.47	9674.61	4683.86
1908	15522.30	11884.54	3637.76
1909	12697.83	10132.70	2565.13
1910	14049.52	9815.07	4234.45
1911	12796.98	10359.51	2437.47
1912	10271.32	9755.12	516.20
1913	12010.75	9795.49	2215.26
1914	17162.66	12506.42	4656.24
1915	18166.69	14067.48	4099.21
1916	18846.82	13802.95	5043.87
Totals	$202058.29	$154106.61	$53609.79
Ann'l Aver'g.	$14504.16	$11007.61	$3425.12

Up until 1909, the charge for initiation was left to the discretion of the local unions. In 1906, the national union fixed the minimum[18] at five dollars, and provided that two dollars of this amount should be placed in the benefit fund. The use of fines is employed chiefly by local unions. The Journal averages an annual gain of between three and four thousand dollars.

By far the greatest and most important requirement of revenue is for defensive purposes. The importance of a reserve fund, while realized by the leaders of the union, has been neglected by the membership at large. The Iron and Steel workers have never been willing, or able, to build up a big reserve fund which would enable the members to engage sucessfully in protracted strikes.

In the early unions, no effective measures were taken to accumulate central reserve funds for the purpose of defense. The Heaters and Roll Hands organizations left the settlement of wage disputes to the local unions. Their strikes were financed largely by voluntary contributions.[19]

Until 1870, the puddlers financed strikes by "voluntary donations".[20] The Sons of Vulcan, in their convention which was held at Harrisburg that year, passed a resolution empowering the president "to levy a per capita tax upon all taxable members---

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[18] Since 1913, members earning less than $2.50 per day may be initiated for $3.00. (Proceedings, 1914, p. 10665).

[19] The Roll Hands in 1874 levied a strike fee of ten cents per month (Proc. 1874, p. 14); but the defense fund was never large enough to be effective.

[20] Vulcan Record, No. 6, 1870, p. 31.

sufficient to pay to each member" engaged in a legal strike "the sum of not less than three dollars a week".[21] This measure was not effective because it could not be enforced. Strike levies were made, but only about one-third of the assessments were paid.[22] As an expedient, in 1874, a new system was adopted, whereby each district governed and supported its own strikes.[23] Only in case one-third of the membership was on strike was national aid granted. In 1875, a "protective fund" was advocated[24] for the support of strikes. It was, however, deferred until the next session of the convention, when it was incorporated in the constitution of the newly-formed Amalgamated Association. The law provided that local unions should "deposit in bank the sum of twenty-five cents per member per month, subject to the call of the president in case of strike".[25] Members in good standing, engaged in a legal strike, were entitled to five dollars weekly benefits.[26]

The system of protective funds, maintained by the local unions and held in local treasuries, was subject to abuse

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[21] Vulcan Record, No. 6, 1870, p. 26.

[22] Ibid, No. 14, 1874, p. 10.

[23] Ibid., No. 14, 1874, pp. 29, 41, 43.

[24] Vulcan Record, No. 16, 1875, pp. 43, 44, 58.

[25] Constitution, 1876, p. 13.

[26] Weekly strike benefits were reduced to four dollars in 1879, (Proceedings, 1879, p. 282). They have remained at four dollars per week since.

and neglect. In 1878, President Bishop said that legitimate claims were not met "for the simple reason that at least half our lodges and members neglect our revenue laws and consequently sub-lodge treasuries are empty".[27] The members either neglected or refused to pay, officers were indifferent, and the protective fund was "a mere name and nothing more".[28] In some cases the money was used to defray local expenses. The reserve fund was supplemented by special assessments, but slight relief was afforded. The difficulty of collection and the delay in receiving returns made the assessment method of raising funds peculiarly unsuited for strike financing. Such levies frequently did not bring returns until the occasion for them was past.[29]

The need of a strong national reserve fund, because of the existence of manufacturers' associations in the trade and the possibility of general strikes, was apparent to the leaders,[30] but the members had to learn the lesson empirically. The opportunity presented itself in 1882. The big strike of that year, which included three districts, was lost because of no funds, and the inability of the assessment method to supply them. The union

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[27] Proceedings, 1878, p. 122.

[28] Proceedings, 1878, p. 125.

[29] Ibid.,1880, p. 355; 1882, p. 922.

[30] Secretary Martin, in his report to the convention of 1880, said: "It is high time the Association got down to plain practical working in this regard, and devised ways and means for the accumulation of a contingent or strike fund, so that when necessity required we would be prepared to financially sustain a strike of a thousand members for a year at least.".

decided to build up a permanent reserve fund. The revenue applied to it consisted of a per capita tax of seventy-five cents quarterly.[31] When the protective fund was "depleted by a long and continuous drain", it was the duty of the president to levy a special assessment to replenish the fund.[33]

The results of the new system were immediate, whereas, prior to 1880, benefits were not paid with any degree of regularity even in local troubles, and the legal provision to pay strike benefits was farcical,[32] now the obligations of the national union

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[31] In 1903, the quarterly capitation tax was decreased to sixty cents, but in 1906 it was increased again to seventy-five cents.

Men working in the East and in unorganized lodges are exempt from the payment of the protective fund. In case of strike they are entitled to only such support as the national lodge is disposed to afford (Constitution 1916, p. 24).

[32] Proceedings, 1890, pp. 3051-52.

[33] The amount of this assessment, as provided by the constitution, varied. In 1893, the president was empowered to levy an assessment of from one to five per cent for a period of one month, whenever the amount in the fund fell below $25,000. (Proceedings, 1893, p. 4220). Even this limit was insufficient in the case of the tin plate strike in 1894-95. (Proceedings, 1895, p. 4771). In 1902, following the big steel strike, the assessment was provided for every three months until the reserve fund reached the sum of $200,000. (Proceedings, 1902, p. 6280).

were met promptly, and the association enjoyed a period of prosperity for at least ten years.

The sympathetic appeal has not been used extensively as a supplementary method of supporting strikes. The union

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This provision was annulled the following year, and the matter of assessments was put in the hands of the Advisory Board. (Proceedings, 1903, p. 6769).

Again, in 1905, a percentage system of assessment was established, graded in accordance to the number of men who were on strike. The National Secretary-Treasurer was empowered to levy an assessment as follows: one-half percent when 100 to 500 men were on strike; one per cent, 500 to 1000; and for each additional thousand men on strike, one per cent up to five. The assessment began two weeks after the legalization of the strike, and continued until the strike was declared off. (Proceedings, 1905, p. 7440). This scheme was not a success, because --I am quoting the Secretary, John Williams--"the national Lodge had no method whereby they could determine the amount due from various sources" (Proceedings 1909, p. 8554). Accordingly, in 1909, a new plan of assessment was adopted, graded both as to the number of men on strike and the daily earnings of the members, as follows:

Number Men on Strike	Men Earning Less Than $2.50 per day	Men Earning $2.50 to $5.00 per day	Men Earning Over $5.00 Per Day.
100 to 500 men	30¢ per mo.	40¢ per mo.	50¢ per mo.
500 to 1000 "	35¢ " "	45¢ " "	55¢ " "
1000 to 2000"	40¢ " "	50¢ " "	60¢ " "
2000 to 3000 "	45¢ " "	55¢ " "	65¢ " "

has realized that it is a confession of financial weakness. Only in cases of emergency, such as the big strikes which occurred in the years 1892, 1901, and 1910, has it been employed. In these particular struggles, however, the income from these appeals was large, and enabled the Association to continue the contest much longer than it otherwise could have done.

A minor source of revenue was the interest which accrued from the so-called "Rebate Fund". By the provisions of the rebate proposition, entered into with the tin plate manu-

(33 Cont.)

Number Men on Strike	Men Earning Less Than $2.50 per day	Men Earning $2.50 to $5.00 per day	Men Earning Over $5.00 Per Day.
3000 to 4000 men	50¢ per mo.	60¢ per mo.	70¢ per mo.
4000 " 5000 "	55¢ " "	65¢ " "	75¢ " "

These assessments were collected by local financial secretaries as dues, and forwarded to the national secretary-treasurer.

The strike of 1910 proved the inadequacy of this measure to meet the requirements of members on strike. A ten per cent assessment was levied; the members groaned under the burden. The following convention provided that no special assessment of over two per cent of the earnings of members can be levied without submitting it to a vote of the membership. Such is the present status of the law governing assessments. (Const., 1916,p.30).

facturers in October, 1902, a certain percentage of the wages of the men was held in trust, and on rebate trade (tin plate sent abroad intended for re-export, thus entitling the buyer to the drawback clause of the Dingley tariff) twenty-five per cent reduction from scale rates was paid the manufacturers upon presentation of documentary evidence. This arrangement was discontinued after the 1910 strike. The amount placed in the defense fund from this source, during the period of its operation, was $14,240.38.

The revenue features of the benefit fund has been discussed elsewhere. The present laws provide for a per capita fee of seventy-five cents. In addition, the fund gets $2.00 per member for initiation or reinstatement.

Expenditure.

The development of the union is characterized by a marked increase in expenditure. A rough dividing line in its fiscal history is the formation of the Association in 1876. Since that time, the expenditure has been continuously although irregularly increased. The early unions ordinarily spent less than a thousand dollars annually. Such was the case, not only with the organizations of the Heaters and Roll Hands, but of the Sons of Vulcan until 1867. The average annual expenditure of the puddlers from 1867 to 1875 was $8,036.70. The maximum amount spent in any one year was $23,316.95, in 1875. The increase in disbursements from 1870 to 1875 was due to three innovations: (a) the adoption of a national assessment plan for defensive purposes,

in 1870; (b) the payment to convention delegates by the national union both of wages for time lost in attendance and of railway fare, in 1872; and (c) the provision for a salaried official, in 1874. The balance of the income was spent on defraying the expenses connected with the annual session of the convention.

The following table shows the growth in expenditure of the Sons of Vulcan from 1867 to 1875.

Table Showing the Growth of Expenditure of the Sons of Vulcan.

Year	Membership.	Expenditure			Per Capita Cost		
		Gen'l	Strikes	Total	Gen'l	Strikes	Total
*1867				$1650.05			
1868	665	$ 959.64	$2108,89	3068.53	$1.44	$3.17	$4.61
1869	816	719.50	390.65	1110.15	.88	.48	1.36
1870	1265	1428.90	1711.21	3140.11	1.13	1.35	2.48
1871	1959	2336.79	675.55	3012.34	1.19	.34	1.53
1872	2614	2386.95	6330.50	8717.45	.91	2.42	3.33
1873	3331	6482.89	11995.70	18478.59	1.95	3.60	5.55
1874	3038	5620.60	4215.49	9836.09	1.85	1.39	3.24
1875	2732	5232.08	18084.87	23316.95	1.92	6.62	8.54

* No statistics available previous to 1867.

The year 1876 marks a change in fiscal policy. A "protective fund" was established, at first by the local unions, since 1882 by the national union. The total expenditure is markedly greater during the years of the big strikes, namely 1882-1883, 1892-93, 1901-02, 1905, and 1910-11. Barring these periods of unusual strike disturbances, the annual per capita expenditure increased from $1.26 in 1877 to approximately $3.00 in 1885, $8.00 in 1906, and $10.00 in 1915. The average for the forty years of the union's history is $6.71. In 1904, a death benefit fund was established; and in 1909, a sick and accident benefit. In 1914, a normal year, the annual per capita expenditure was $12.62. The growth in expenditure far outstripped the increase in membership. Since 1900, roughly speaking, the expenditure has constantly increased while the membership has actually declined.

The growth of expenditure of the Association is conveniently shown in the following table:

Comparative Table Showing the Growth of Expenditure of the Association for Various Purposes, from its beginning....

Year	Membership.	Expenditures				Per Capita Cost			
		Gen'l	Prot. F.	Benefit F.	Tot.	Gen'l	P.F.	B.F.	Tot.
1876	*								
1877	3755	$4262.73#	$ 501.35		$4764.08	1.13	0.13		1.26
1878	4044	3995.74#	1246.92		5442.66	.99	.31		1.30

Comparative Table Showing the Growth of Expenditure of the Association for Various Purposes, from its beginning... (Cont.)

Year	Member-ship.	Expenditures Gen'l	Prot. F.	Benefit F.	Tot.	Per Capita Cost Gen'l	P.F.	B.F.	ToT.
1879	5400	5236.18#	8836.94		14073.12	.97	1.64		2.61
1880	9550	7161.42	6811.00		13972.42	.75	.71		1.46
1881	10359	9523.90	17627.08		27150.98	.92	1.70		2.62
1882	16003	13207.89	53032.00		66239.89	.82	3.32		4.14
1883	11800	14583.65	82249.00		96832.65	1.24	6.97		8.21
1884	9242	13412.84	18547.00		31959.84	1.45	2.01		3.46
1885	5702	10506.55	5536.00		16042.55	1.84	.97		2.81
1886	7219	5469.98	30132.00		35601.98	.76	4.17		4.93
1887	11426	8998.67	2776.00		11774.67	.79	.24		1.03
1888	14946	13542.21	10664.00		24206.21	.91	.71		1.62
1889	16117	18917.15	21744.00		40661.15	1.17	1.35		2.52
1890	20781	19157.16	19303.00		38460.16	.92	.93		1.85
1891	24068	26342.81	18044.00		44386.81	1.09	.75		1.84
1892	20975	35045.33	115504.00		150549.33	1.67	5.51		7.18
1893	13613	28636.56	150105.15		178741.71	2.10	11.03		13.13
1894	**10000	10210.00	32194.71		42404.71	1.02	3.22		4.24
1895	**10000	16357.40	4691.00		21048.40	1.63	.47		2.10
1896	11000	12325.76	200.00		12525.76	1.12	0.02		1.14
1897	10500	13844.96	2118.00		15962.96	1.32	.20		1.52
1898	10050	14679.65	11151.00		25830.65	1.46	1.11		2.57
1899	11050	16322.62	5880.00		22202.62	1.47	.53		2.00

Comparative Table Showing the Growth of Expenditure of the Association for Various Purposes, from its beginning.....

(Cont.)

Year	Member-ship.	Expenditures Gen'l	Prot. F.	Benefit F.	Tot.	Per Capita Cost Gen'l	P.F.	B.F.	Tot.
1900	14035	27364.40			27364.40	1.95			1.95
1901	13893	41620.59	3139.74		44760.33	3.00	.22		3.22
1902	14467	49707.38	12000312		169710.50	3.44	8.29		11.73
1903	15198	45688.87	5483.29		51172.16	3.01	.36		3.37
1904	14306	52924.49	28794.50	1600.00	83318.99	3.70	2.01	.11	5.82
1905	10904	57626.35	92304.40	5800.00	155730.75	5.28	8.47	.53	14.28
1906	11410	46001.63	36556.97	7200.00	89758.60	4.03	3.20	.63	7.86
1907	10216	44831.75	34213.25	6700.00	85745.00	4.39	3.35	.65	8.39
1908	7472	52264.04	9435.36	6200.00	67899.40	6.99	1.26	.83	9.08
1909	6295	41471.39	30029.75	8045.00	79546.14	6.59	4.77	1.28	12.64
1910	8257	42559.99	161764.63	14310.00	218634.62	5.15	19.59	1.73	26.47
1911	4355	35168.21	112762.67	16250.00	164180.88	8.08	25.89	3.73	37.70
1912	4318	33258.65	648.50	13905.00	47812.15	7.70	.15	3.22	11.07
1913	6304	33003.12	18.00	14865.00	47886.12	5.24		2.36	7.60
1914	6880	43756.92	19947.35	23095.00	86799.27	6.36	2.90	3.36	12.62
1915	7283	35912.82	9190.76	27480.00	72583.58	4.93	1.26	3.77	9.96
1916	7860	40009.10	5278.62	27375.00	72662.72	5.09	.67	3.48	9.24
Average				172,825.00		2.80	3.26	1.98	6.71

* No Record.

\# Expenses of the present convention included.

** Pure fiction; it is doubtful if they had more than half that number.

The disbursements of the union are classified under three heads, and correspond to the divisions made, until 1915,[34] in the funds,--(a) for general purposes, (b) for "protective" purposes, and (c) for benefits.

(a) The disbursements of the union for administrative and miscellaneous purposes are classed general expenditures. They include, besides the ordinary charges of administration[35] and office management,[36] the expenses of "organizing",[37] printing,[38] Journal publication,[39] and the cost of conventions and conferences.[40] These disbursements, as a rule, vary but slightly from year to year, until 1900. In 1877, the annual per capita expenditure for general purposes was $1.13; in 1899, $1.47. Since then there has been a rapid increase in general expenditures from $27,364.40 in 1900 to $43, 756.92 in 1914. The annual per capita expenditure has increased from $1.95 in 1900 to $8.08 in 1911. In 1914, a normal year, the per capita cost for general expenses was $6.36. The increased outlay has been the result,

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[34] In 1915, the three funds were merged into one gen'l fund; this obviated the necessity of transferring funds from one account to another. (See note, p.98).

[35] The per capita cost of district expenses--that is, expenses of deputies, executive committees, etc.,--for the years 1880 to the present year, were as follows:

chiefly, of the cost of publishing the Amalgamated Journal, undertaken in 1899[4], and an increase in office expenses. The

(35)(Cont.)

Year	Amount	Per Capita Cost	Year	Amount	Per Capita Cost
1880	$1912.89	$0.20	1898	$2157.12	$0.21
1881	2253.15	0.22	1899	1373.68	0.12
1882	3538.88	0.22	1900	4791.44	0.34
1883	2124.83	0.18	1901	4964.64	0.36
1884	1565.53	0.17	1902	5488.29	0.38
1885	1039.88	0.18	1903	6628.12	0.44
1886	420.53	0.06	1904	12397.74	0.87
1887	1324.34	0.12	1905	9429.83	0.86
1888	2022.13	0.14	1906	5759.59	0.50
1889	1642.93	0.11	1907	2480.57	0.24
1890	2063.97	0.10	1908	1563.03	0.21
1891	3011.86	0.13	1909	456.14	0.07
1892	2836.48	0.14	1910	1103.59	0.13
1893	3295.51	0.24	1911	738.23	0.17
1894	2118.97	0.21	1912	2128.96	0.49
1895	1626.60	0.16	1913	658.75	0.10
1896	1108.04	0.10	1914	1508.49	0.22
1897	1520.98	0.14	1915	766.48	0.11
			1916	898.93	0.11

* Proceedings, 1916, p. 11606.

great increase in per capita outlay is the resultant of a decrease in membership.

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[36] The per capita cost of salaries, rent and printing, and current expenses (such, for example, as postage, telegrams, office supplies, etc.), for the years 1899 to 1903 were as follows: (These figures are given by the union in the annual proceedings):

Table Showing Annual Per Capita Cost of General Administration from 1899 to 1913:.....

Year	Salaries		Rent and Printing.		*Current Expenses	
	Amount	Per Cap. Cost	Amount.	Per Cap. Cost.	Amount.	Per Cap. Cost
1899	$3800.00	35¢	**$1159.37	10¢		
1900	5700.00	41¢	2718.01	19¢	$599.79	4¢
1901	5500.00	40¢	2357.26	17¢	636.39	5¢
1902	6405.00	44¢	4449.87	34¢	885.59	6¢
1903	6483.60	43¢	3550.85	23¢	646.83	4¢

*Includes postage, telegrams, office supplies, etc.

**Current Expenses included.

[37] The expenses of organizing are small. The national president is general organizer. Special organizers are appointed by the president, subject to the approval of the convent, and are employed temporarily.

[38] The annual cost per capita of printing from 1889 to 1898 was as follows:

The per capita expenditure of the Association for general

(38-Cont.)

Table Showing Annual per Capita Cost of Printing

From 1889 to 1898.

Year	Amount	Per Cap. Cost.	Year	Amount	Per Cap. Cost.
1889	$1814.95	11¢	1894	$2163.55	22¢
1890	2010.01	10¢	1895	1488.25	15¢
1891	2771.75	12¢	1896	1553.35	14¢
1892	3097.65	15¢	1897	1487.00	14¢
1893	2636.10	19¢	1898	1475.95	15¢

[39] The annual per capita cost of the Journal publication from 1905 to 1916 was as follows:

Year	Amount	Per Cap. Cost.	Year	Amount	Per Cap. Cost.
1905	$10,414.67	$0.96	1911	$10359.51	$2.38
1906	9668.40	.85	1912	9755.12	2.26
1907	9674.61	.94	1913	9795.49	1.55
1908	11884.54	1.59	1914	12506.42	1.82
1909	10132.70	1.61	1915	14067.48	1.93
1910	9815.07	1.19	1916	13802.95	1.76

purposes, from 1877 to 1916 inclusive, has been as follows:

(39-Cont.)

The increase in the per capita cost from 1908 to 1912 was due to the decline in membership.

[40] The convention expenditure includes the mileage of delegates, expenses of national officers, and other incidental charges. In 1900, it wa $5896.58, or 42¢ per capita; in 1901, $6894.14, or 50¢ per capita.

The cost of conferences for 1900-01 was $6612.39, or 48¢ per capita; for 1901-1902, $5126.63, or 35¢ per capita. These are fairly typical years.

[41] Until 1903 subscription to the Amalgamated Journal was optional with the members. Since then a quarterly per capita tax has been levied for its support; 30¢ originally, but 37½¢ from 1907 on. The expenditures have been included in the disbursements for general purposes, but a separate account has been kept by the manager, for convenience in comparison.

Table Showing Per Capita Expenditure of the Association For General Purposes.

Year	Per Cap. Exp.	Year	Per Cap. Exp.	Year	Per Cap. Exp.
1877	$1.13	1891	$1.09	1905	$5.28
1878	0.99	1892	1.67	1906	4.03
1879	0,97	1893	2.10	1907	4.39
1880	0.75	1894	1.02	1908	6.99
1881	0.92	1895	1.63	1909	6.59
1882	0.82	1896	1.12	1910	5.15
1883	1.24	1897	1.32	1911	8.08
1884	1.45	1898	1.46	1912	7.70
1885	1.84	1899	1.47	1913	5.24
1886	0.76	1900	1.95	1914	6.36
1887	0.79	1901	3.00	1915	4.93
1888	0.91	1902	3.44	1916	5.09
1889	1.17	1903	3.01	1917	
1890	0.92	1904	3.70	1918	

Average for whole period, $2.80.

(b) The expenditure of the Association for "protective" purposes includes the benefits paid for the relief of members on strike, and the expenses of the administration of the relief, and special donations made to assist local unions that were not legally entitled to benefits.

The strikes of the early unions were local in character, and were financed by voluntary contributions. Many local strikes, in fact, received scant attention, and were lost because of inadequate funds to sustain striking members. The Sons of Vulcan, from 1870 on, were more aggressive in assisting its local branches, involved in conflicts with employers. The crude assessment plan of subsidizing local unions engaged in legalized strikes was replaced by a system of regular weekly strike allowances of $3.00 granted to individual members directly from national funds. The Amalgamated has, since 1879, guaranteed $4.00 a week to sustain members involved in legally sanctioned strikes.[42] This is

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[42] The constitution provides that no strike benefits are paid when the national fund is less than $25,000. Members drawing strike pay must remain in the locality of the strike or notify the corresponding representative each week where they are and that they are unemployed. Besides, they must have held membership in the union for six months, must be paid up on the books, and the local union to which they belong must be in good standing with the national association. No strike benefits are paid during the months of July and August, unless the strike has

sometimes supplemented by voluntary donations. It is intended merely as a subsistence amount.

The Amalgamated Association, being a defensive organization, has devoted the bulk of its income to strike purposes. The cost of strikes and lockouts bulks large. The union has, until recent years, been composed of highly skilled workmen, who adhere to a code of piecework regulation and are governed by a

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been legalized three months previous to July 1st. No benefits are paid for the first two weeks of the strike, and members who have been suspended or expelled must have been restored to membership six months before they are entitled to benefits. Members working three days in any week are entitled to no benefits for that week; but members are not permitted to refuse to work the third day, if work is available, in order to receive benefits for the week. Any member obtaining a permanent situation in any other locality forfeits his claim to strike benefits during the continuation of the strike. Strike benefits are paid for thirteen weeks, except, in the opinion of the president and the executive board, the exigency demands an extension of payments.

Victimized members are paid weekly benefits of $6. for a period of eight weeks (Constitution, 1916, pp. 29-33).

No local union is permitted to engage in a strike until the strike has been authorized by the executive committee of the district. The executive committee has also the power to declare the strike at an end, or to open a mill that is struck illegally. (Constitution, 1916, pp. 27-28.).

uniform scale. Its members have always contributed to a "protective fund". The introduction of labor-saving machinery, together with changes in the conditions surrounding the industry, has been a factor affecting the amount of strike expenditure. Similar in effect is the demand for the product. Strikes for increased wages during prosperous times and to oppose reductions in times of depression have meant the draining of the protective fund,[43] a hindrance to the progress of the union. Strikes have frequently been of considerable magnitude, often covering a whole competitive district, but occurring only at long intervals. Such, for example, were the strikes of 1882, 1895, 1900, and 1910. The disparities in the annual strike expenditure are particularly noticeable. Barring the big strikes engaged in by the Association, the per capita expenditure seldom exceeded $3. In 1893, the per capita outlay for strikes was $11.03; in 1902, $8.29; in 1905, $8.47; in 1910, $19.59; and in 1911, $25.89. These were years of unusually bitter contests. The per capita strike disbursements of the Association, by years, were: (See P.123)

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[43] Proceedings, 1882, p. 861; 1902, PP. 6322-23.

Table Showing Per Capita Strike Disbursements

Of The Association.

Year	Per Cap.Exp.	Year	Per Cap. Exp.	Year	Per Cap. Exp.
1877	$0.13	1891	$0.75	1905	$8.47
1878	.31	1892	5.51	1906	3.20
1879	1.64	1893	11.03	1907	3.35
1880	.71	1894	3.22	1908	1.26
1881	1.70	1895	.47	1909	4.77
1882	3.32	1896	.02	1910	19.59
1883	6.97	1897	.20	1911	25.89
1884	2.01	1898	1.11	1912	0.15
1885	.97	1899	.53	1913	**
1886	4.17	1900	**	1914	2.90
1887	.24	1901	.22	1915	1.26
1888	.71	1902	8.29	1916	0.67
1889	1.35	1903	.36		
1890	.93	1904	2.01		

*Average for whole period, $3.26.

** No strike benefits paid.

(c) Since 1904, the Association has paid a death benefit. The amount, originally $100, has since been increased; the benefit is graded according to the term of continuous good standing. In 1909, sick and accident benefits were included. The union pays a weekly benefit of $5, in case of sickness or disability, for a period of thirteen weeks.[44]

The following table gives the per capita expenditure, of the Association for benefits since 1904:

Year	*Per Cap. Exp.	Year	Per Cap. Exp.	Year	Per Cap. Exp.
1904	$0.11	1909	$1.28	1914	$3.36
1905	.53	1910	1.73	1915	3.77
1906	.63	1911	3.73	1916	3.48
1907	.65	1912	3.22		
1908	.83	1913	2.36		

* Average for whole period, $1.98.

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[44] See Chapter on Beneficiary Features.

Administration.

Improvement in fiscal development has progressed pari passu with the organic development of the association. This progress may conveniently be described under three heads: (1) better provisions for an administrative staff, (2) safe-guarding of the union funds, and (3) improvement in the fiscal administration and discipline of the local unions.[45]

In the early years of the history of the union, slight provision was made for an administrative staff. National officers, being unsalaried, attended to the business matters of the union at home after the day's work in the mill. Permanent head-quarters were not established until the early seventies. The employment of paid officials and the establishment of permanent central head-quarters marks the beginning of progress in financial administration. The offices of secretary and treasurer were combined in 1895, thus tending to promote fiscal efficiency.

The officer in charge of the financial administration of the union is the national secretary-treasurer. He is customarily elected year after year, so long as he is competent and is a candidate for re-election. For example, M. F. Tighe, the present incumbent, was assistant secretary for twelve years and has been secretary-treasurer since Sept. 1911. As secretary, he has full charge of the books; he must keep the accounts between the local branches and the central office, act as secretary of the

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[45] Sakolski, The Finances of American Trade Unions, p. 123.

convention, and attend to office correspondence. As treasurer, he receives and pays out all money belonging to the union, is custodian of the funds, and prepares reports, quarterly and annually, of all financial transactions. To attend to these duties requires a knowledge of business management and administrative ability of no mean degree. The methods of book-keeping and accounting are business-like, separate funds being kept for the different forms of expenditure.[46]

The safeguarding of union funds against misappropriation has been, with every trade union, a serious problem. Being unincorporated, the union is without legal redress. The Iron and Steel Workers has been no exception to the rule, and certain defalcations have occurred in the history of the organization, particularly in the local branches.[47]

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[46] Altho the funds in 1914, were nominally consolidated into one general fund, the quarterly per capita tax of $2.50 is, in reality, apportioned as follows: $1 for the general fund, 75¢ for the protective fund, and 75¢ for the benefit fund.

[47] See Official Correspondence of the Heaters' Union (Wis. Hist. Society), the attempt of a deputy to misappropriate funds; Vulcan Record, No. 2, 1868, pp. 19-20, for a discrepancy in the accounts of a national treasurer; Proceedings, Amalgamated Association, 1877, pp. 66-67, 90, refusal of a local union official to surrender funds belonging to the union; Proceedings, 1879, p. 285, suspension of certain members for the dissolution of a local union and the illegal division of the funds of the local treasurer; Auditor's Report (strictly confidential), Oct.8, 1879,

In order to safeguard the national funds, a board of trustees is elected to exercise supervision. The board holds the bonds of the officers, the amount of the security being increased as the funds of the organization became larger. At present, the officers give bond[48] for the following amounts: president, $5000; secretary-treasurer, $25,000; assistant secretary, $2500. The trustees audit the accounts of the national union every three months, and a copy of the auditing report is sent to each local union. They deposit with the president a bond, $5000 in the case of the resident trustee and $1000 non-resident trustees.[49] The officials are authorized to secure these bonds from a reputable security company.[50] The funds of the association are deposited at interest in banking institutions from which withdrawals can be made on short notice, and distributed in several banks so as

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pp. 4-5, unsatisfactory bookkeeping of a national official; Proceedings, 1881, p. 687; National Labor Tribune, May 13, 1882, (P. 4, c. 2) and Dec. 9, 1882 (P. 4, c. 3).

[48] In 1879, the amount of the bonds of the president, secretary, and treasurer was $5000 each (Proceedings, 1879, pp. 255-57, 283): the bond of the treasurer was increased to $10,000 in 1880 (Proceedings, 1880, p.466), and to $25,000 in 1897 (Proceedings, 1897, p. 5340).

[49] Constitution, 1916, pp. 16-17

[50] Prior to 1911, these bonds were furnished by private friends (Proc., 1911, p. 9332). The cost of security by a bonding company was $4 per thousand.

to reduce the risk of loss through the failure of any one bank.[51]

The national association exercises very little control over the local unions in matters of financial administration.[52] Local officers are selected by the local membership. If they are remiss, the only expedient which the national union can employ is the suspension of the local union from the rights and privileges of the national organization--a step entailing numerical and financial loss, and generally causing discord. A local union may extend its functions beyond those of the national association, as for example in the matter of benefits. To what extent this has been done, it is impossible to set forth, because of insufficient data.

The essential problem in the fiscal administration of the Association has been the inefficient collection of national revenue. The early constituent unions had great difficulty in collecting dues, as the local unions were careless and no effective pressure could be brought to bear upon them. Through the gradual development of a card system, the national union was able to enforce the regular payment of dues; since the cards of a local union that was in arrears to the national organization would not be accepted by other local unions. Local unions, in debt to the national association[53] (unless exempted because its members were unemployed), received no support from the national

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[51] Proceedings, 1891, p. 3501.

[52] The only rules of the national union concerning local finances are provisions relative to the safeguarding of local funds: the treasurer is required to give bond; the local funds may not be divided; etc.

[53] The charter of a local union failing to send a dele-

union in case of trouble, and was not entitled to representation in the national convention;[54] if a local union in arrears sent a delegate to the convention, the amount of the indebtedness was deducted from the mileage of the delegate.[55] When the death benefit was introduced, in 1904, an additional incentive was afforded a subordinate union to keep in good standing. No claim for benefits was allowed if the union of which the deceased was a member was in arrears for its per capita tax or assessment. The number of unions actually suspended has been negligible.

Greatest difficulty was experienced in the prevention of "tax dodging". Local unions have failed to report the full quota of members in good standing, and have in this manner evaded a part of the burden of the per capita tax.[56]

In early years members were provided with "due" cards, showing the debit and credit account of members with the local union. But the national union had no effective check on the number of members for whom the local union were required to pay a per capita tax.

Finally, a new system was devised to prevent the evasion of dues by subordinate unions. Every member[57] was given an "Annual Working Card" and a card number. Under this system, it is the

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gate or to report for two successive sessions was rescinded. (Constitution, 1874, p. 9)

[54] Vulcan Record, No. 14, 1874, p. 38.

[55] Ibid., 1875, pp. 6-7; Proceedings, 1916, p. 23.

[56] Proceedings, 1905, pp. 7253-54.

[57] In 1900, members were provided with a "working card,---

duty of the mill committee to see that every man is provided with a working card before going to work. The card number appears on the member's working card, on the local ledger account of the member, and in the card catalogue of the national union. Every member, on payment of his per capita tax, has his working card receipted monthly by the signature of the financial secretary, and a member not in possession of a paid-up working card is not entitled to any benefits. All claims for benefits call for card numbers, and unless the accounts of the local union and the national union correspond, the claim is not allowed. It has thus been made practically impossible for a subordinate union to escape the payment of dues on every member. The advantage of the system in securing the payment of dues can not be estimated, but its adoption appreciably increased the paying membership.

In order to facilitate the work of the local financial officers, as well as to avoid losses to the national union arising from errors in accounts, a uniform system of book-keeping and accounting has been introduced in local unions. Printed ledgers, cash books, and necessary blank reports are prepared and supplied by the central office, in which detailed instructions as to method of accounting is set forth. The auditing of local accounts

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issued at the end of each quarter upon payment of all fines, dues and assessments", and subject to the inspection of the mill committee. (Proceedings, 1900, p. 5917). The next year, the "due card" was abolished, and the quarterly working card was made suitable for both due and working card (Proc., 1901, p. 6070) Since

is likewise simplified.

1906, this card has been issued at the end of each year, called an "annual working card", and the member is not entitled to the benefits and privileges of the association, except the card shows that the member is in good standing.

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Comparative Table of the Numerical and Financial Growth of the Sons of Vulcan, for the Years from 1867 to 1875 inclusive.

Reported to Convention Held At.	Year	No. Del. At Conven.	No. Active Lodges.	Memb.	Aver. Lodge Memb.	Tot. Rcpts.	Tot. Disburs-ments.	Bal. in Treasy
Cleveland	1866	*						195.25
Pittsburgh	1867	51	36	** 1514	36	$ 1832.35	1650.05	182.30#
Buffalo	1868	20	30	665	33	2985.73	3068.53	±
Wheeling	1869	29	24	816	34	1346.40	1110.15	236.25
Harrisburgh	1870	42	33	1265	38	3384.38	3140.11	244.27
Chicago	1871	60	50	1959	39	3364.22	3012.34	351.88
Covington, Ky.	1872	64	70	2614	38	9649.89	8717.45	932.44
Troy	1873	88	81	3331	46	18729.84	18478.59	251.25
Youngstown	1874	81	99	3038	35	10006.82	9836.09	170.73
Philadelphia.	1875	73	88	2732	29	23340.77	23316.95	23.82

*No statistics afailable for years previous to 1867. **Over estimated. # Unpaid expenses of delegates to convention included. ± Treasury bankrupt; and an amount of $82.80 owing the national secretary.

TABLE II

Comparative Table of the Numerical and Financial Growth and Decline of the Amalgamated Association, Since Its Inception, Aug. 4, 1876, According to Years from Convention to Convention.

Reported to Convention Held At:	Year	No. Dels. Present.	No. Active Lodges	Membership.	Aver. Lodge Memb.	Total Repts.	Total Disbursements.	Balance in Treasury.
Columbus	1877	75	111	3755	34	$ 5591.36	$ #4764.08	$ 827.28
Wheeling	1878	89	113	4044	36	6218.37	#5242.56	975.71
Youngstown	1879	105	104	5400	52	15724.39	#14073.12	* 1651.27
Pittsburgh	1880	193	155	9550	62	20963.62	13972.42	6991.20
Cleveland	1881	173	166	10359	62	39544.40	27150.98	12393.42
Chicago	1882	213	197	16003	81	91066.83	66239.89	24826.94
Philadelphia	1883	153	183	11800	64	109711.31	96832.65	12878.66
Pittsburgh	1884	149	160	9242	58	50251.37	31959.84	18291.53
Wheeling	1885	88	107	5702	53	44324.82	16042.55	28282.27
Pittsburgh	1886	121	106	7219	68	45523.26	35601.98	9921.28
"	1887	172	154	11426	74	42522.78	11774.67	30748.11
"	1888	194	172	14946	87	81173.01	24206.21	56966.80
"	1889	194	189	16117	85	112338.19	40661.15	71,677.04
"	1890	253	234	20781	89	138919.01	38460.16	100458.85
"	1891	294	290	24068	83	190928.04	44386.81	146541.23
"	1892	254	291	20975	72	226265.49	150549.33	75716.16
"	1893	168	234	13613	58	211347.13	178741.71	32605.42
Cleveland	1894	96	150	*10000	67	57947.34	42404.71	15542.63
"	1895	85	125	*10000	80	34539.57	21048.40	13491.17

TABLE II
(Cont.)

Reported to Convention Held At:	Year	No. Dels. Present.	No. Active Lodges	Membership.	Aver. lodge Mem'b.	Total Rcpts.	Total Disbursements.	Balance in Treasury.
Detroit	1896	111	132	11000	83	$ 35781.72	$ 12525.76	$ 23255.96
"	1897	123	145	10500	72	44426.65	15962.96	28463.69
Cincinnati	1898	117	153	10050	66	52663.62	25830.65	26832.97
Detroit	1899	140	145	11050	76	57070.90	22202.62	34868.28
Indianapolis	1900	202	181	14035	78	84307.81	27364.40	56943.41
Milwaukee	1901	200	160	13893	87	119659.07	44760.33	74898.74
Wheeling	1902	212	174	14467	83	273906.01	169710.50	104195.51
Columbus	1903	201	185	15198	82	183897.81	51172.16	132725.65
Cleveland	1904	207	183	14306	78	208065.67	83318.99	124746.68
Detroit	1905	166	157	10904	69	203243.04	155730.75	47512.29
Cincinnati	1906	170	144	11410	79	121383.15	89758.60	39624.55
Toledo	1907	150	139	10216	73	135321.56	85745.00	49576.56
Youngstown	1908	115	124	7472	60	125710.53	67899.40	57811.13
Detroit	1909	97	114	6295	55	125895.54	79546.14	46349.40
Ft. Wayne	1910	116	103	8257	80	247981.96	218634.62	29347.34
Canton	1911	69	85	4355	51	204847.58	164180.88	40666.70
Chicago	1912	69	77	4318	56	94594.51	47812.15	46782.36
Ft. Wayne	1913	87	79	6304	80	104065.21	47886.12	56179.09
Columbus	1914	88	87	6880	79	137350.62	86799.27	50551.35
Louisville	1915	81	85	7283	86	128175.71	72583.58	55592.13
Cleveland	1916	99	90	7860	87	144733.83	72662.72	72071.11

#Expenses of the present convention included.
* Discrepancy of $13.32 in accounts of National Lodge.
± Fictitious Estimate.

CHAPTER V

THE BENEFIT SYSTEM

Any proposed extension of the traditional functions of a trade union invariably meets with determined opposition on the part of the members. A large and influential element persists in confining the activities of the union to the maintenance of a minimum rate and to securing shorter hours of labor and better working conditions. They advance the theory that concentration of effort in these directions brings the only results worth striving for, while the inclusion of mutual benefit features means diffusion of energy and loss of effectiveness.[1] Too, they argue that the inauguration of benefits militated against the prime requisite of trade unionism--organization; since the expense of maintaining benefits meant higher dues of members, persons who might otherwise join the union were prevented from doing so.[2] These votaries of the "good old ways" seldom abandon this position concerning any proposition unless dislodged by the unanswerable logic of events, and then retreat only to throw up similar breastworks at the next bend in the road, from behind which they will offer just as stubborn resistance to the next innovation.

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[1] Fortenar, A. J. , Problems of Organized Labor, p. 55.

[2] Kennedy, J. B. , Beneficiary Features of American Trade Unions, p. 10.

The concrete propositions upon which issue is joined in the present instance relate to insurance against sickness, accident and death. Unemployment and old age might also be added, although the Amalgamated has never seriously considered their adoption of either an old age pension or an out-of-work benefits.[3]

At the second annual session of the Sons of Vulcan, held at Wheeling in 1863, a general constitution was adopted, and among the objects of the organization was "to aid sick and distressed members". Shortly after the close of the Civil War the rapid growth of mutual insurance companies attracted the attention of trade unionists everywhere. The formation of insurance associations under the auspices of national unions with a membership limited to the members of the organizations was discussed by practically all unions. Such discussion, in the history of the Iron and Steel Workers, dates back to 1868, when the local union at Wheeling, thro its delegate to the annual convention, proposed the introduction of benefit features by the national union. This subordinate lodge had already a local beneficial society, that was operating successfully.

In 1870, President Edwards recommended the establishment of a mutual benefit society, which was to be managed locally, but the dues and payments were to be regulated by the national lodge.

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3 Instead of paying unemployment benefits, the union provided that, in case members were thrown out of work "thro overproduction or other causes", such as a double-turn mill going on single turn, the work shall be equally divided. (Proceedings, 1886, p. 1850; Constitution, 1916, Art. XVII, Sec. 6).

The society was to be titled "The Boilers and Puddlers Cooperative Association". The plan was briefly as follows: The National secretary was to be the executive of the association, keeping account of all money transactions. Any member of the union in good standing was eligible for membership. Upon the death of a member, the secretary was empowered to draw upon all local forges at the rate of one dollar per member of the association.[4] The sum of one thousand dollars was to be paid to the widow or heirs, the balance--in case there was a surplus--to be laid aside as a contingent fund. In the event of more than one fatality in the same year, the secretary should levy a per-capita assessment so as to pay the required thousand dollars to each heir. The age limit was set at fifty, and membership was not to cease when a member for any reason severed his connection with the union.[5]

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[4] Miles S. Humphreys, the veteran leader of the old Puddlers' Union, tells an amusing incident of one John Jones, a burly Welshman, nicknamed "Black Jack". Jones had listened attentively in lodge meeting to a would-be orator by the name of William Mathews, narrating with prolixity and exuberance upon the theme of charity and home protection, in favor of a scheme of death benefits. The plan provided that, upon the demise of one of the members, each brother member would contribute the sum of one dollar for the support of the widow. At length, the orator subsided, and "Black Jack" rose to the occasion.

"That was a fine speech," he led off; "but look-a-'ere. I have at home an old woman. I like my old woman as much as any-

The scheme did not meet with favor in the eyes of the majority of local forges, and was reported back to the next session as "impracticable". However, the formation of local beneficial societies was strongly recommended by the committee. The opinion of the leaders was divided. President-elect McLaughlin was an ardent advocate of a national system, and in support of his argument cited examples of other national organizations in which the plan had worked successfully. "Aside from the benefits ----individually", he urged, "it will have a tendency to place our organization on a firmer basis and there will not be so many suspensions reported in each report. Then men will have something more at stake and will be more anxious to retain membership". Ex-President Edwards replied, in rejoinder, that a national fund would "act as a drag on the progress" of the organization, and that any plan for the collection and disbursement of the funds by the national lodge would be "so extensive and complicated in character that considerable annoyance and dissatisfaction would ---result".[7] As an alternate plan, he suggested the payment of

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one of ye likes your old woman. And she likes me, too, as much as any of your old womans like you. But--I go home some night, and say to my old woman, 'Bella, if I die, you get $500'. Bella say, 'How's dat, John'. I say, 'Bella, dat's right, you get $500, when I die. The lodge pass a motion that when anyone die, every member give one dollar, and we have 500 members. That makes $500! Why, Great Gott! Bella don't care if I die! She take that money and get 'nother man!----I don't vote for any such damn thing!"

[5] Vulcan Record, No. 7, pp. 20-23, (Dec. 1870)
[6] Ibid, No. 9, p. 6, (Dec., 1871)
[7] Ibid., No. 11, pp. 20-21, (Dec., 1872)

one hundred dollars either by the local forge of which the deceased was a member or, in case of forges having few members, by the combined resources of several small forges, grouped together in a district, so that the assessment would be uniform and not exceed one dollar per member. Surplus funds were to be used in the benefit of widows and orphans.

Sick and accident benefits, likewise funeral relief, were matters of local concern. No concerted effort was made at this time to make of them national issues. The opinion obtained that any national project would entail too great a burden upon the officers and also consume too much time in the annual convention. Various plans were advanced. One of these cited at random will suffice, to wit: Weekly dues, fluctuating according to the needs of the treasury; a local forge of, say, one hundred members maintaining from $150 to $300, and forges with fewer members proportionately less; a general relief committee, consisting of the president, vice president, and financial secretary, empowered in the interim between meetings, to draw on the local treasury to the amount of one week's benefits for sick and disabled members; the mill committee to act in this capacity for those working in the plant, and to keep a list of such members entitled to relief.[8] No record is extant as to the actual number of local unions that adopted benefit features, but it is evident that not a few of

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[8] Article by Ex-President J. O. Edwards, under the signature of "XP", in the semi-annual report for Dec., 1872, (Vulcan Record, No. 11, pp. 21-23.)

the more prosperous lodges were paying benefits during these earlier years.[9]

The Mahoning Valley Mutual Relief Association, in 1878, presented to the union an insurance proposition. The terms of insurance offered were as follows: forty per cent (40%) discount from the regular membership fee; a member of the union would be ex-officio trustee, and another member general agent; collection of dues to be deferred in case the union became involved in a strike or lockout. The proposal was considered by the convention which met that year. The chief arguments in favor of the proposition were (a) that the company was safe, (altho it had only been incorporated and in successful operation since April, 1877); (b) that the insurance cost was as reasonable as any other similar organization; (c) that, its membership being representative, the mortality rates were more equal than if composed of men of, say, one avocation; and lastly, (d) that it would be an incentive to membership, since the insurance was left optional with

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[9] At the first annual convention of the Heaters' Union (then known as the Associated Brotherhood of Iron and Steel Rail Heaters), when a constitution and by-laws were adopted, a strong feeling existed among the delegates to have inserted in the constitution a clause providing for the support of families of sick of deceased members, but the question when put to a vote was lost. (McNeil, The Labor Movement, pp. 277-278)

the membership and thus no one was injured. The proposition was accepted, and Edward McGinniss was elected general agent. But it is doubtful if many availed themselves of its advantages. For practically twenty-five years, the question of benefits was revived regularly for discussion in the annual conventions. In 1879, it took the form of a funeral benefit; in 1881, a "superannuation fund" for disabled members; in 1888 and 1889, unemployment benefits. But the Association rigidly adhered to the policy of local management. Local unions frequently paid $50 in case of death of one of its members. Sick and disabled members were aided by voluntary contributions. For example, in 1880, one John Parry was permanently incapacitated for work by the loss of sight, and he received donations to the amount of about two thousand dollars ($1940.34).[10] Another got a thousand, another five hundred, and so on. Again, in 1882, there was raised $8,466.96 "for disabled members and persons on strike not entitled to benefits".[11] These charities were considered "the initiative step towards establishing a superannuation fund for our disabled members". It was not, however, soon realized.

The closest attempt to establish out-of-work benefits was made by local bodies of nailers. The nailers, it will be remembered, suffered more unemployment than any other craft in the trade. Not even in a good year could they hope for much steadier work than half-time. To meet this exigency, the nailers

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[10] Proceedings, 1880, pp. 388-89.

[11] Ibid., 1882, pp.992.

of the Ohio Valley, at a meeting in Wheeling, 1889, decided to form a pool by assessing every working machine so much for the support of those who were idle. This action was commended as a "boon" to the trade and a "barrier against reductions in wages". The one objection given was the lazy workman who would become a drain on the fund. There is no record of any other local unions following the precedent set by the nailers.

Another insurance company, this time the Prudential Insurance Company of America, offered the Association an insurance proposition in 1902. These were the terms. Take, for example, a policy of one thousand dollars. Its cost was $5.22 per quarter, or $20.88 per year; its cash value at the end of ten years, $111. In ten years, $208.80 would have been paid for the policy. Deducting its surrender value, the cost of insurance may be estimated at $107.80, or $9.78 per year. The proposition was given careful consideration, but eventually dismissed. Its chief merit to noteworthy mention lay in the fact that it directed the serious attention of the membership to the inauguration of a system of benefits.

In 1903, the Columbus convention voted to withdraw "ten per cent (10%) of all the money now in the treasury of the National Lodge", for the purpose of creating a Death Benefit Fund.[12] This amounted to $13,000, and the law was put into effect Oct.1, 1903. Provision was made for a death benefit of $100, as distinguished from what is properly known as insurance.[12a] The per-

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[12] Proceedings, 1903, p. 6768.

[12a] The distinction between a system of insurance and a

capita assessment was empirically set at ten cents a quarter, or forty cents a year, and from the outset it was made to embrace every member in good standing. The law required a preliminary period of membership of three months, also that a member be in good standing, that is, his dues must not be three months in arrears, at the time of his death in order to be entitled to participate in the benefits.

The reasons for the adoption of a beneficial feature by the national union were various. Some maintained that it would attract new members, others that it was effective in retaining old members. Many saw in the system substantial aid in carrying out trade policies, namely, fewer suspensions either for misconduct or for non-payment of dues, and a stronger defense fund. The real reason, in the opinion of the writer, was the crying need for benefits of this kind, the fact that nearly all other national organizations were thus aiding its membership, and more particularly the desire of the members themselves to participate in these benefits. In not a few cases, the beneficiaries were reported by the secretary as "penniless".

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death benefit system is one of quantity rather than of quality. The legal distinction is that of the signed contract; in the case of a benefit, no policy is issued. (See Kennedy, ibid., p.19) A union paying benefits is not subject to legal regulation, since it does not issue beneficiary certificates.

Provision was made in 1904 for members in good standing who had retired from mill work, but desired to continue their membership in order to participate in the death benefit. At first, the law stated that retirement must be caused by old age or disability; in 1907, it was provided that members withdrawing by honorary card might by making application for "silent membership" continue the death benefit. Persons holding silent membership were assessed at the rate of one quarter's dues annually (not to exceed $1.80) in addition to the regular death benefit assessment. Members who severed their connection with the union except as herein provided, that is, going to work without permission in a non-union mill, were not entitled to participate in the benefit.[12b]

In 1905, the law was discovered to be inadequate to protect the organization. So an attorney worded the article of the Constitution so as to stand the test of legality. The essential additions were: (a) It was provided that the receipt of any of the beneficiaries named constituted "a full acquittance and discharge of all claims" against the organization; (b) a member in good standing was defined as "one who has been a member of the organization three months immediately preceding his death, and whose name has been reported as being in good standing in the last quarterly report of his sub-lodge to the National Lodge previous to his death, and on whom the insurance fee has been paid";[12c] (c) Neglect on the part of the local union to forward a correct record at the proper time

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[12b] Proceedings, 1910, p. 9087.

[12c] Constitution, 1905, p. 30.

of all those in good standing, it was stated, exempted the national lodge from paying death benefits to members whose names were unrecorded; (d) The adjudication of claims was entrusted to the advisory Board whose decision was "final and conclusive without appeal"; and (e) no claims were allowed unless presented to the National Secretary-treasurer within six months.

Experience soon demonstrated that the original assessment of ten cents per quarter was not sufficient to cover the amount of the claims, and the cost of management. By 1906, the original amount set aside for this purpose had dwindled from $13000 to less than $9000. The Secretary stated that the union was obliged to take bad risks which no insurance company would take. In order to place the fund on a paying basis the quarterly rate was increased to twenty cents per member.

Three important changes were made in in the law in 1907, which gave the union more disciplinary control over its members. In the first place, participation in the benefits was made contingent upon paid-up dues within three months, not only to the national union, but to the local lodge as well; and no suspended member was beneficiary until three months after the suspension was raised. Secondly, it was provided that a sub-lodge was held liable for the amount of the claim of a member which had been disallowed because of its failure to forward the quarterly reports on time. This claim had to be paid in order to entitle the local union to the benefits of the association. Lastly, a subordinate lodge in arrears to the amount shown on their last

report was not elegible to have its death claims paid until such arrearages were paid.

Once a system of benefits was set in operation in one direction, the desire for other benefits developed. The convention of 1906 appointed a committee "to formulate by-laws relative to the creation of a sickness, accident, and out-of-work benefit fund to be conducted in conjunction with the death benefit fund", participation in these benefits to be optional. The committee investigated the matter[13] and reported at the next annual session, and copies of their report were submitted to sub-lodges for final action. In 1908, the report of this special committee was adopted, with the exception of the provision for out-of-work benefits.

The new benefit became operative October 1, 1908. It was compulsory that all members participate in the benefits. The system which was initiated will be discussed under three general heads: (a) the provisions of the several benefits; (b) the cost of benefits and the amount of claims paid; and (c) the administration of the funds.

A. Provisions of the System of Benefits.

1. Death Benefit.

The new law provided for death benefits graded according to the length of membership. The minimum amount remained at $100, and the requisite period of membership was three months.

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[13] Mr. Bowers got constitutions of all the trade unions in the United States, and one from New Zealand; in his official report presented the best features of other unions. Sentiment in favor of extending benefits

The graded scale was as follows: a member was entitled to a death benefit of $150, if he had been in continuous good standing for two years; $200, for three years; $300, for five years; and $500, for ten years. The grading of the benefits serves a twofold purpose: first, a protection to the funds, since the minimum is hardly large enough to be attractive to "bad risks"; and secondly, an effective agency not only in attracting but also in holding members, inasmuch as continuous membership means increasing benefits. The requirement of a preliminary term of membership for eligibility to the benefit likewise serves as a protection against the entrance of persons in ill health. Since no deliberate selection of risks is made, the mortality is higher than it would be if the applicants were examined. But the death benefit is considered, not so much a matter of strict business, but partly charitable; and the slightly increased cost is regarded as more than compensated by the increased solidarity of organization. Members of the union quitting the trade, by becoming silent members, may continue the death benefit at a rate not exceeding $260 a year, payable in advance quarterly or yearly. Any silent member failing to pay his fee on or before the date of his last receipt thus allows his claim to lapse, and is not again permitted to become a silent member. No silent member is entitled to more benefits than that graded accorded to his continuous standing up to the time of his with-

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was crystallized through the columns of the Journal.

drawal by honorary card. Applications for honorary cards and silent membership must be made at the same time. In 1908, there were forty silent members.

The rate of mortality, according to the records of the union during the period of twelve and one half years, for which death benefits have been paid, is fairly even. With the exception of one year, which was abnormally low (due, perhaps, to the abnormal condition of the union occasioned by the 1910 strike), the rate has ranged from five to seven per thousand members; while the membership has averaged somewhat less than nine thousand. The average rate for the whole period is 6.2. The record of mortality for members not in good standing and so ineligible to benefits is not kept. The causes of mortality[14] are chiefly diseases due to dust, heat conditions, and changes in temperature; tuberculosis leads, pneumonia is second. Accidents claim a very large percentage. Stomach and bowel troubles,also typhoid, are common. Five hundred death claims to the amount of $61,300 have been paid by the union, or an average of $4904 per year, and $123 per claim. Up until 1911, noclaims were paid for more than $100. Since that date, the members have been taking advantage of the graded scale. In about two years, some of the membership will be entitled to the maximum benefit of five hundred dollars. The average age of deceased members is forty-

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[14] Oliver states that the English Iron and Steel workers have a mortality figure 37% above that of the standard of occupied males; the Iron workers endure greater suffering than workmen of other occupations "from influenza and from diseases of

two years. These figures may be seen at a glance in the accompanying table:

TABLE SHOWING MORTALITY RATE

from

=---Oct. 1, 1903 to Mar. 31, 1916
(Fiscal Years End March 31st).

Year	Number of Claims Receiving *$50	$100	$150	$200	$250	$300	$500	Tot. No. Claims	Tot. Amt. Death Ben.	Union Memb.	Mortality rate per 1000.	Av. Age Yrs.	Mo.	No. Illeg. Claims.
**1904		16						16	$1600	14306				
1905		54						54	5400	10904	6.0	40		
1906		60						60	6000	11410	6.5	42		3
1907		55						55	5500	10216	6.0	42	5½	14
#1908		50						50	5000	7472	5.55	36		2
1909		36						36	3600	6295	6.0	42		2
1910		20						20	2000	8257	3.0	41		1
1911	2	19	11					32	3650	4355	5.0	40	6	2
1912	2	8	9	5				24	3250	4318	6.0	43	5	3
1913		12	3	13				28	4250	6304	7.0	42	4	1
1914		22	4	7		5		38	5700	6880	7.0	43		
1915		20	4	6	2	12		44	7900	7283	7.5	42		1
1916		12	10	12	1	7		42	7450	7860	6.0	42		2
Tot.	4	384	41	43	3	24		499	$61,300	8822	* 6.2	* 42	*	31

* Wife's death benefit of $50 was deducted from the member's death benefit.

** Six month--Oct. 1, 1903 to Mar. 31, 1904. * Average.

\# The new law grading death benefits went into effect Oct. 1, 1908.

the nervous, circulatory, respiratory, digestive and urinary systems". The mortality due to lung diseases is "more than double the standard figure". (Fitch,John, Chapter VII p. 52).

The union pays a total disability benefit upon the basis of the death benefit. The amount of the benefit is one-half of the amount which the member would be entitled to in case of death, and is deducted from the death benefit due the member at death. To be eligible to total disability benefits, the member must have been in continuous good standing for six months, and the disability must not be caused by "intemperance, debauchery or other immoral conduct". The union has, fortunately, had but one case of total disability, one William E. Kegel, who lost his sight, and was paid $150 in January, 1915.

Upon the death of the wife of a member, who has been in good standing continuously for six months immediately preceding his wife's death, the sum of fifty dollars ($50) is paid to the member. This amount, is deducted from the amount of the member's death benefit at the time of his demise. The object of the payment of a wife's death benefit is, of course, to defray the cost of burial. It is stipulated that the money shall be paid only in case, "at the time of her death, they are living together as man and wife", and also, "if the member dies first the insurance on the wife ceases forthwith".[15]

The six months' preliminary good standing was computed from October 1st, 1908, so the law did not actually become operative until April 1, 1909. There is no way to ascertain the mortality rate of members' wives, but the average age at death for the period of seven years is thirty-eight (38). The union paid 157 claims, or

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[15] Constitution, 1908, p. 36.

$7850; an average of nearly 24 claims, or $1125, per year. The number of illegal claims presented, after the law was properly in effect was inconsiderable. The following table will better illustrate the figures just quoted:

Table of Wife's Death Benefit, Mortality, etc.

(Fiscal Years End March 31st.)

Year	No. $50. Claims.	Total Benef. Pd.	Average Age Of Deceased Yrs.	Mo.	Total Illegal Claims.	Remarks.
1909					7....	Law not yet in operation.
1910	27	$1350	41	6	1	
1911	20	1000	39			
1912	11	550	45	1		
1913	16	800	36	8	1	
1914	28	1400	38	6		
1915	31	1550	38			
1916	24	1200	38		2	
Totals	157	$7850			11	
Average	24	1121	38			

2. Sick and Accident Benefit.

The greatest innovation was the provision made for sick and accident benefits. The association pays five dollars ($5) a week, for a period of thirteen weeks in any one twelve-month, either continuously or periodically, to members sick or disabled so as to "incapacitate" them for their work. The total amount that may be drawn in any one year is $65. It is provided that no benefit is paid if the sickness or disability is caused by "intemperance, debauchery, or other immoral conduct".[16] In 1910, the law stated that a member found under the influence of liquor should be put off the sick list. To be eligible to participate in the benefits, a member is required to be in good standing continuously for six months,[17] and not indebted to the local lodge to the extent of three months' dues. Members thus in arrears or who have been suspended, are not entitled to benefits for three months after dues have been paid or suspension raised.[18] Payments do not

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[16] Constitution, 1908, p. 30.

[17] A preliminary period of six months was made to apply to members depositing honorary cards, before they were eligible to sick and accident benefits.

[18] In 1909, this penalty was increased to six months; and arrearages were defined as "any debt either to the sub-lodge or to the National Lodge, or both, for dues, fines, assessments, etc. either separately or collectively."

begin for seven days after the sicknes is reported, and no benefit is paid for a fractional part of a week. In 1914, it was found that certain members were drawing the maximum number of weeks' benefit yearly, who were practically unable to work. In order to prevent this drain on the funds, the union adopted the ruling that no member should receive benefits for more than two successive years for the same disease, unless he is able to work for at least three months during the year after the first claim. Likewise, members suffering from "incurable or constiturional diseases" were obliged to apply for a total disability payment, after which sick benefits should be discontinued; and, in 1916, provisio was added, "unless members shall recover and work for at least six months."

The causes of morbidity have already been mentioned in connection with the death benefit. They are practically identical; diseases due to dust, changes in temperature, especially pulmonary trouble, also accidents. The occasions for the disallowance of claims were alike for death and for sick and accident benefits, and may be illustrated thus by sampling. In 1907, thirteen death claims were disallowed; nine of the members were not in good standing, one each because of non-payment of dues, failure to deposit card within the allotted time, neglect of local lodge to send reports on time, and going to work in a non-union plant. Not infrequently the convention voted to "appropriate" or "donate" $100 to the family. In 1911, there were 32 illegal sick and

accident claims; of these, 12 members were reported not in good standing, 16 were in arrears, three were ineligible because their lodges had failed to send to the national office quarterly reports, and one because of intemperance.

The union statistics of morbidity, as given below in tabular form, show that, during the period of eight years in which sick and accident benefits have been paid, the number of claims steadily increased from about one hundred and fifty to slightly over eight hundred; an average of approximately five hundred per year. There was a similar increase in the number of illegal claims presented. Since the union does not pay out-of-work benefits, there would be a tendency for those who were unemployed to feign illness. The exact number of such cases, of course, it is difficult to determine. As the membership increased and declined, the number of claims and the amount of benefits likewise varied. The total amount paid for sick and accident benefits was $88755, averaging $11, 834 per year. However, there was little variation in the average amount paid per claim, or in the percentage of the membership receiving benefits on the basis of the maximum period of thirteen weeks. The average claim was about $22; the rate of morbidity, on a thirteen week basis, was scarcely three percent.

RATE OF MORBIDITY, FROM

BOTH NATURAL AND ACCIDENTAL CAUSES.

(Fiscal Years End Mar. 31st.)

Year	No. Claims Paid.	No. Illegal Claims.	Total Benef. Paid.	Average Amount Per Claim.	Tot. No. Weeks Disability.	Tot. Memb. Union.	Per Cent Memb. Sick 13 Weeks.
* 1909	148	7	$3245	$21.66	649	6295	--
1910	443	23	9760	22.14	1952	8257	2.0
1911	463	32	10400	22.46	2080	4355	3.0
1912	371	12	8695	23.39	1738	4318	3.3
1913	421	20	8375	19.42	1675	6304	2.6
1914	668	20	14555	26.12	2907	6880	3.3
1915	694	34	16440	23.70	3288	7283	3.5
1916	812	70	17285	21.28	3457	7860	3.4
Totals	4020	218	$88755		17746		
Aver. (7½ yrs.)	536	29	11834	$22.52	2366	6444	3.0

* Six months, October 31, 1908 to March 31, 1909.

B Cost of Benefits, and Amount of Claims.

The annual per capita cost for the death benefit, when established in 1903, was ten cents, and in 1906 was twenty cents. The assessment was raised in order to put it on a paying basis. The original fund of $13000 created by action of the convention, had decreased in 1906 to less than $9000. This fee kept the fund nearly on a parity for two years when the organization widened its field of activities to include death, disability, sick and accident beneficiary features. The per capita assessment for all benefits was placed at an unvariable fixed lump sum of 75¢ per quarter, or $3 per year. Members in good standing leaving the trade and desiring to continue the death benefit, as stated previously, were assessed at $2.60 per year and known as "silent members". In 1914, such members were also allowed to participate in the sick and accident benefit, by paying $2.25 per quarter, apportioned as follows: 75¢ for insurance, one dollar national lodge dues, and 50¢ local lodge dues. As distinguished from the silent membership they were designated as "part paying members".[19] In addition to the per-capita assessment, the national lodge received in behalf of the benefit fund $2 for every initiation and reinstatement. The minimum initia-

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[19] This has, since the writing of this account, been changed. "Part-paying" members must pay to the National Lodge $2.50 per quarter; the allocation of dues is as follows: 75¢ for benefits and $1.75 for all other purposes. (Interview with Mr. J. A. Bowers, Apr. 5, 1917).

tion and reinstatement fee was fixed at $5; previously the fee for reinstatement varied, and was determined by expediency, being $2. In 1913, the law provided for an initiation graded according to the earning power of the members; $5, for members earning more than $2.00 a day, and $3 for those who were making $2.50 or less per day. Too, when a new lodge was chartered, two dollars was exacted of each member to be placed in the fund. Any surplus was utilized in building up a defense fund. As compared with similar organizations, the association gives to its members a very cheap system of insurance.[20]

The figures in the table showing the amount paid in benefits by the association prove that the fund is on a sound pay-as-you-go basis. In twelve and one-half years, the union has paid out for all beneficiary features well over a quarter of a

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[20] The cost of insurance compares most favorably with that charged by insurance companies and fraternal orders. In the comparisons, it must be remembered that the iron and steel trade is regarded neither as a healthy nor as a safe trade, and the Amalgamated Association obviously cannot select its own risks. Yet it maintains benefits at a cost lower than organizations that make it a business. The union charges its members $3.00 a year; and it pays a sick & accident benefit of $5 per week for thirteen weeks in any year, and a graduated death benefit, with a maximum of $500 for ten years' membership; also, fifty dollars wife's death benefit, and a total disability benefit equal in amount to one half the death benefit, these to be deducted from the amount paid at death.

million dollars, an average of $12,644 per year. Up until 1907, there was an annual deficit. With the new system inaugurated in 1908, and its increased per capita cost, the balance in the defense fund grew steadily from nine to thirty-three thousand in 1913, when the original loan of $13000 was replaced in the general fund. In 1914, the benefit fund was merged with the general fund. The reserve fund has since maintained its statu quo, due chiefly to the payment of higher death benefits graded according to length of membership and the fact that very little "new blood" has been added to the organization in recent years.[21] The average annual receipts have been $13,826. The annual per capita cost of management has averaged thirteen cents. These figures are shown in detail in the chart.

Compare the sick benefits with that of the Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, and other societies. They usually pay $5 a week for thirteen weeks and half benefits for thirteen more, the dues almost invariably being $8 per year (See A.J. Portemar, Problems of Organized Labor, p. 62). Compare the death benefit with the insurance rate of the New York Life Insurance Co. It charges $19.62 per $1000 ordinary life at age 21, which (as compared with the graded benefits of the union) would mean a rate of $1.96 for $100, and $2.94 for $150, $3.92 for $200, $5.89 for $300, and $9.81 for $500. While it is true that the union does not pay $500 until membership has continued for ten years, it is also true that most people do not take out insurance at 21, and the comparison in favor of the union would be greater the longer the taking of a policy was delayed. One reason for the cheap union

Table of Benefits Paid from Oct. 1, 1913 to Mar. 31, 1916,

And Annual Cost Per Member.

(Fiscal Years End March 31)

Year	Annual Per Cap. Cost.	Tot. Rcpts. Includ'g Balance	Amount Placed in Benefit Fund By 1913 Conven. $13000.00 Death Benef. Members	Death Benef. Wives	Sick & Accid. Benef.	Tot. Disability.	Tot. Benef.	Cost of Mngt.	Balance
*1904	$0.20	$ 15095.60	$1600	Law Oper.	Law Operative		$1600		$13495.60
1905	.40	17952.19	5400	Apr. 1, 1909.	October 1, 1908.		5400.	$ 400	12152.19
1906	.40 ** .20	16098.53	6000				6000	1200	8898.53
1907	.40	14683.64	5500				5500	1200	7983.64
1908	.80 ***.20	15101.22	5000				5000	1200	8901.22
1909	2.25	21624.31	3600		$3245		6845	1200	13579.31
1910	3.00	39525.98	2000	$1350.	9760		13110	1200	25215.98
1911	3.00	45076.47	3650	1000	10400		15050	1200	28826.47
1912	3.00	43553.62	3250	550	8695		12495	1410	29648.62
1913	3.00	48408.29	4250	800	8375		13425	1440	33543.29 * 13000.00
1914	3.00	59085.65	5700	1400	14555		21655	1440	22990.65
1915	3.00	#(48126.25)	7900	1550	16440	$150.	26040	1440	#(20646.25)
1916	3.00	(49799.08)	7450	1200	17285		25935	1440	(22424.08)
Totals			$61300	$785	$88755.	$150.	$158055	$14770	
Ann'l Av.	$2.07	$ 34736.47	$ 4904.	$1121.43	$11834.	20.	$12644.40	$10070.5	$20904.47
		(12½ yrs)	(12½ yrs.)	(7 yrs.)	(7½ yr.)	(7½ yr.)	(12½ yr.)	(11 1/3 yr.)	(12½ yr.)

* Six months, Oct. 1, 1903--Mar. 31, 1904.

** Six months (Mar. 31, 1906--Oct. 31, 1906), 20¢; six Months (Oct. 31, 1906--Mar. 31, 1907), 40¢.

***Three months, 20¢; nine months, $2.25.

\# Benefit Fund merged with the General Fund.

* Original loan was returned by action of the Ft. Wayne Convention, 1913.

Cost of management, i.e., Insurance Secretary's salary, has averaged

12¢ per member annually for the period of eleven and one-third years.

Average annual receipts, $13826.00.

C. The Administration of the Benefits.

The administration of the beneficiary system is carried on by the officers who manage the general affairs of the association. The secretary-treasurer is the chief official concerned in administering the benefits. At first, he handled the entire business himself, but in 1904, by action of the convention, he was authorized to hire an assistant at a salary of $100 per month. He selected Joseph A. Bowers, who has held the position ever since. Mr. Bowers was given the title of insurance secretary the next year. Since that time the office has been made elective, and its incumbent a member of the national executive board. The salary was advanced twenty per cent in 1912. The insurance secretary was the only additional machinery necessary and the only expense incurred for the maintenance of the benefit system.

Up till 1914, the benefit fund was kept separate from the general fund and the protective fund. For years the general fund had been maintained by a loan from the protective account. This device of "borrowing from Peter to pay Paul" was remedied by amalgamating all the funds into one general fund. Thus the benefit

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(Note #20, Cont. from p. 157) insurance is that the additional expense of administration incurred with the establishment of benefits has been practically nil.

[21] Secy. M. E. Tighe's Report, Proceedings, 1912, pp.9706--07.

fund was merged with the general reserve fund. In order to secure the benefit funds against the encroachment of other departments, provision was made to increase the reserve fund from $10,000 to $25,000. This amount was kept intact; no strike benefits were paid when the fund reached this limit. Although the payment of benefits, organizing and general expenses, and strike pay, is made from a single fund, as need requires, a nominal allocation of funds is practised. Of the quarterly dues of $2.50, one dollar is placed to the credit of the general fund, seventy-five cents each placed to the credit of the protective fund, and the benefit fund. Such apportionments are merely book-keeping devices. The union has never hesitated to transfer money from the protective fund to the general expense account. None has been borrowed, however, to pay benefit claims.

The national union handles all the funds and makes payment of benefits thro the mediation of the local unions. Naturally, the adjudication of claims is the most important administrative task. The national officials rely on the local unions for cooperation in preventing fraud. In case of death, a certificate properly signed is usually indisputable evidence of the fact of death. In the matter of sick and accident benefits, the local union is a more essential part of the administrative machinery of the national union. The system is guarded against fraud by a physician's certificate, a sworn statement of the financial secretary or other officer, and an investigation by a committee of three members of the local lodge, who administer the benefit to the claimant.

The administration of the death benefit is relatively simple. The local union reports the death, and certifies to the good standing of the deceased member in the local lodge. If the records of the national and local unions correspond, and the deceased member is clear on the records of both local and national unions, the claim is approved by the national officers, and payment is made thro "the president, vice president and recording secretary, in conjunction with the corresponding representative",[22] to the designated beneficiary, or legal heirs of the deceased. The receipt of any one of the heirs is "a full acquittance and discharge of all claims" against either the local or the national union on account of the death of a member. The report of the subordinate union to the national union, covering the case in point, contains a certificate validating the claim, sworn to before a notary public by the financial secretary, together with an abstract of the ledger account upon which the local officers based their decision for the payment of the claim. Upon receipt of a "claim for death benefit", the national insurance secretary, secretary-treasurer and president examine it, and if satisfied as to its validity, order immediate payment; if the claim is questionable, it is referred to the national executive board for final adjustment. A claim to be valid must be filed within six months after the death of a member. The decision of the board is "conclusive and final without appeal", except by their permission.

The procedure in the case of death of a member's wife is similar. The adjudication of a disability claim is perhaps

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[22] Constitution, 1916, pp. 40-41.

more difficult than that of a death claim. No definition of "total disability" is given. The fact and the cause of said total disability must be secured from a "reputable" physician in the locality of the member, and certificate sworn to before a notary public; and attested to by the president, financial secretary and corresponding representative of the local union. This certificate must also contain the correct lodge record of the member. In order that such a claim be valid, it must not be caused by "intemperance, debauchery, or other immoral conduct". The local officers forward the claim to the national union, and if approved payment is made through the local union to the legal claimant. The Amalgamated has had but one case of total disability.

The greatest amount of care must be exercised in the administering of sick and accident benefits. Herein the local union is an integral part of the machinery. The chief means relied upon to guard against fraud are the certificate of the attending physician and the statement of the visiting committee, together with the sworn record of the financial secretary. A member who becomes sick or disabled must notify within a week the financial secretary, vice president, or a member of the sick committee, and fill out a blank giving date and cause of sickness or disability. No benefits are paid for a week. At the expiration of two weeks, the physician certifies to the date, nature, and cause of illness, and the sick or benefit committee

that the member is "unable to work" and that it is not caused by immorality. This report is forwarded to the national union. Each week thereafter a supplementary report, similar to the original claim, is sent to the national office. If the records of the member are clear, the local union is instructed to pay sick benefits to the member, and upon the termination of the sickness, the subordinate lodge is reimbursed by check from the national lodge.

The law provides that the local union shall arrange for a "benefit committee" to visit sick members, consisting of at least three members. The vice president, is ex-officio chairman. This committee is required to see that a reputable physician signs the reports, visit the sick member and report on blanks provided for the purpose. If a committee is refused admittance to see the sick member, except by order of the board of health, it is not "obligatory" to pay weekly benefits until such restrictions are removed. Visiting committees are not required to visit members having "malignant or contagious diseases," but to give statement of it on the benefit claims. Officers found guilty of obtaining benefits for a member fraudulently are fined $25.00 National officials, of course, cannot be sure of the honesty of the physician and the good faith of the visiting committee.

The Amalgamated has one of the best systems in use among trade unions to prevent the abuse of the sick and accident benefit. Every member is catalogued on a card. The union has

a mailing list for its Journal, and the address of every member is here recorded. Benefit payments are entered on a member's card. Members moving from one local union to another and drawing more benefits than the legal provision are thus detected. In case there was observed any locality having excessive morbidity, the matter would be investigated. This same system is employed by the Molders.[23]

It might be well in closing this narrative to point out some of the advantages of beneficiary features to the union. As stated before, the real reason for their inauguration was the apparent need, and the desire of the membership to meet this need. As for sick benefits, the stricken workman needs more money when he is sick than when he is well. In addition to the individual benefits derived, there are certain general advantages which accrue to the organization.

The effect of the benefit system upon the association may be summarized as follows: (1) It tends to attract new members, and to make the membership more stable. While this cannot be proved statistically, it is the opinion of the union leaders. In 1909, Secretary Williams, in his report in this connection, said: "Our beneficiary features have now passed the experimental stage, and are fixtures that are destined to add strength and stability to our membership. It is my firm opinion that, had these features been added a number of years

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[23] Kennedy, (JB). . . . . p. 115.

past, our numerical standing would be much stronger than it is at the present time". (2) If the fact that benefits serve to increase the membership is doubtful, certainly it is a factor in retaining them, once they are members. Naturally a member is slow in dropping his membership when at the same time he gives up his right to valuable and increasing benefits. No doubt the installation of benefits has had its influence in the gradual increase in membership after the baneful reaction of the Sheet and Tin Plate strike. (3) The presence of a large reserve fund, altho it increases the probability of successful aggressive action, nevertheless is an incentive for conservative action. A union without funds, like a man without property, is inclined to be radical. Lastly, (4), the disciplinary power of the union over its members is strengthened by the use of benefit features. It is a club to keep the dues of members paid up, since by suspension a member loses the rights of continuous good standing. Besides, a member of a local union will not withdraw upon slight provocation, and thus lose the privilege of benefits.[24]

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[24] See F.T. Carlton's "History and Problems of Organized Labor," pp. 153-154.

PART II

TRADE POLICIES.

CHAPTER V

THE STANDARD RATE

The history of the Amalgamated Association has been a recital of the maintenance of "a fair remuneration to members for their labor."[1] The pay envelope of the workmen has been swelled in two ways: by enforcing increases and by preventing reductions in their wages. The wage increase has been supplemented by the concession of fixed periodic payments in cash,[2] and by

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[1] Constitution, 1876, p. 6; ibid., 1916, p. 9.

Wages in the iron and steel industry have entered into several reports published by the United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, among such reports being the Sixth Annual, (1891), the Nineteenth Annual (1904), and Bulletins Nos. 59, 65, 71, 77, 151, and 168.

Two Senate documents contain reports of investigations made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics treating in part of wages in the iron and steel industry: (1) Report on Strike at Bethlehem Steel Works (Sen. Doc. No. 521, Sixty-first Congress, second session); and (2) Report on Conditions of Employment in the Iron and Steel Industry in the United States (Sen. Doc. No. 110, Sixty-second Congress, first session--four vols.). The latter document is a very comprehensive study of wages, hours of labor, working conditions, etc., in the industry in 1910. It covered all occupations in the industry and practically all plants in operation in the United States, the wage data being based mostly on a half-month pay roll, in most instances in the month of May.

It is beyond the scope of this treatise to present and evaluate the results of these various investigations.

[2] Proceedings, 1880, p. 412; Ibid., 1884, p. 1413;

the abolition of truck stores[3] and credit payments.[4] The betterment of working conditions, gained sometimes thro strikes, has been generally obtained thro conference and negotiation. These advantages have been due, in part, to the increased skill of workmen, the invention of machinery, and the concomitant of increased productivity of the industry. But, without the union, it is improbable that any increase of wages would have taken place.[5]

"In order to make any effective regulation concerning the price at which the workmen in the trade shall sell their labor to the employers",--I am quoting Professor Barnett--"it is necessary for a union to formulate or adopt a measure for the labor which is to be sold and to fix a price upon it. This price is ordinarily called a 'standard' or 'minimum' rate".[6] Below this rate no workman is permitted to work; the rate rests uniformly upon all the members of the union whom it is designed to effect.

Proceedings, 1902, p. 6467; Ibid., 1914, pp. 10404, 10810.

[3] Vulcan Record, No.5 (Jan., 1870) p. 7; Proceedings, 1877, p. 92; Ibid., 1878, p. 165; ibid., 1880, pp. 397, 404, 412; Financial Statement ending Dec. 31, 1884, p. 14; National Labor Tribune, Dec. 25, 1886, p. 4, c.1, a co-operative company store.

[4] For "skinplaster payments", see Vulcan Record, No. 14 (1874), p. 36; Proceedings, 1885, pp. 1566-67, "co-operative" plants and "contract system"; Proceedings, 1888, pp. 2398-99, loaning at excessive rate of interest; Ibid., 1904, pp. 6923-25, "profit-sharing" proposition; Ibid., 1907, p. 8061, money advanced on interest.

[5] See Comparative Table of Wages in Appendix.

[6] Barnett, "The Printers", p. 108.

The method of remuneration has, since 1865, been the piece "scale". It was known as the "sliding scale", since it was so adjusted that rates advanced and declined in accordance with the price of the product.[7] By means of this mechanism, the union sought to obtain their primary purpose of advancing wages by substituting collectively established rates of wages for those which its members could obtain by competition in individual wage bargains, or by isolated strikes. The scale was well adapted to collective action. The chief problems in the formulation of a scale were those of technique, in the establishment of a minimum, the adjustment of the differential advance and decline, and the classification of the varieties of product which the scale was designed to cover. With respect to the latter (classification of product), the scale must be both comprehensive in scope and clear of definition. The distinguishing characteristic of a standard rate is uniformity of application; that is, it is essential that the rate be effective in all the mills or localities for which it is established. Important, therefore, is the territorial extent over which the scale is applicable.

The present chapter will be an examination of (1) the areas of application of the scale and (2) the three elements directly affecting the rate of remuneration, namely, (a) rate differentiation corresponding with a difference in product, (b) definition of the work, and (c) provision for payment when mater-

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[7] See Chapter on Collective Bargaining.

ial is made under abnormally difficult conditions.[8]

(1) The Area of the Standard Rate.

The leading element in the development of the uniformity of scale application is its extension from a local scale to a national scale. The scale of the Sons of Vulcan originally covered all the puddle mills in Pittsburgh and the immediate vicinity. The price for puddling iron was practically the only item in the scale, and it was not difficult to enforce uniformity. The originators of the scale--according to Miles S. Humphreys, the sole survivor of the group--"had no idea of its spreading" to other localities.[9]

Workmen in neighboring mills were soon quick to observe the advantages of the scale, and to seek a similar arrangement. The scale spread rapidly to all mills in the Pittsburgh district. In 1867, the Puddlers' union divided its jurisdiction into districts instead of, as formerly, into states, the object being to include in each district forges which should be governed

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[8] D. A. McCabe, The Standard Rate, p. 19.

[9] In an interview with the writer, October, 1914, Mr. Humphreys, in speaking of the motive for the inception of the scale, said: "Good men were often driven to strike for some trivial matter occuring in another local mill, and were generally outvoted in a mass meeting. The men who voted to strike had no money, but had to be kept. This meant big store bills; and since only honest men would be trusted, the others lived on their credit. So, the

by similar prices.[10] By the time of the formation of the Amalgamated in 1876, districts west of the Alleghany mountains had scales for puddling, and continued effort had been made to secure a scale for the Eastern section. These attempts were attended with but temporary success in the East.[11] The puddlers' example was followed by the workmen in the rolling branches of the iron trade. The Guide Mill Rollers made a scale for the Pittsburgh district by agreement with the Iron Manufacturers in April, 1872.[12] In 1877, the first year after the amalgamation of the rolling branches with the puddlers, President Bishop pointed out the injurious effect of mills working at low rates, and urged the necessity of establishing uniform prices for each branch of labor to prevent employers from forcing wages to the level of lower-priced mills in the district, and recommended the adoption of uniform district scales by district conventions. The convention authorized the vice-president of each district to call a district convention for the purpose of formulating a district scale for

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paupers who squandered every cent they earned were just as well off as before".

[10] These district boundary lines were changed from time to time. In 1868, there were five districts, with centers at Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Youngstown, Chicago, and Philadelphia, consecutively. In 1869, the third district shifted its centre to Cincinnati. (Vulcan Record, Nos. 2-4)

[11] Ibid., No. 6, (1870), p. 19; Proceedings, Amalgamated Association , 1877, p. 65.

[12] A copy of this agreement is contained in Amalg. Proc.,

all mills in the district, and an article was inserted in the constitution to this effect.[13] For nearly ten years the Amalgamated Association adhered to the policy of district scales.[14]

These early district scales, however, did not cover all branches of work. It was difficult to make them uniform, and the rates originally provided only for the leading men of the crew. In 1879, scales were arranged in conference with the manufacturers for scrapping, knobbling, shingling, and muck rolling. Such workmen as bar mill heaters and catchers, roll turners, and muck mill hands were yet without uniform scales of prices.[15] Two districts, in particular, were unable to enforce uniform district scales; the fourth, centering about Chicago, in which practically all of the plants were steel mills,[16] and the district East of the Alleghanies, where a condition of demoralization in the ranks of the organization persisted.[17] Special scales were drawn up for

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1880, Appendix; also, Mass. Statistics of Labor, 1881, p. 14.

[13] Proceedings, 1877, p. 57, 76; Constitution, 1878, p. 22; Proceedings, 1880, p. 469.

[14] The, in 1875, eight districts of the Sons of Vulcan were continued by the Association. The five districts of 1869 had been retained, with boundaries somewhat changed, and three more added.

[15] Proceedings, 1880, p. 343.

[16] The rail mill lodges held a meeting in Chicago Dec., 1880, but it was impossible to agree on a uniform scale, because of "the different construction of mills and various other causes"; but a satisfactory base price for the different mills was estab-

mills doing special work or having equipment peculiar to themselves. For example, a steel rail mill of Chicago, because of exceptional automatic machinery, had a special agreement for the workmen.[18] Carnegie Brothers' plant at Pittsburgh was given special scales for rolling; this scale was designed to cover mills of similar character, but separate contracts for specialty mills were made between the manufacturers and the workmen.[19] The employers in the same competitive district were placed on an equal basis, the same prices being granted those having similar equipment.[20]

In addition to the lodges governed by a district scale, there were a few lodges, outside any district, which were supervised directly by the national officials. These lodges followed as closely as possible the prices of the nearest competitive district, or agreed to a differential on the basis of the Pittsburgh scale as, for instance, the Birmingham, Ala., agreement in 1882.[21]

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lished (Proceedings, 1881, pp. 561-62). Later, scales for steel mill lodges of the fourth district were adopted in convention, but--even at a reduced rate--it was not strictly enforced. (Proceedings, 1883, pp. 1183-94; Proceedings 1884, p. 1340). The Association was never able to establish, with any degree of permanence a scale, district or national, for the large steel rail mills.

[17]In 1880, a scale was granted for Philadelphia, with a differential price of $1 below Pittsburgh, but it did not affect neighboring mills to any great extent. (Proc. 1880, pp. 349 ff.; copy of the agreement, Proc., 1881, Appendix)

[18]Proceedings, 1884, p. 1320. This plant was the South

By 1885 the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers obtained a uniform national scale[22] for nearly all of the branches of its membership. This scale applied west of the mountains only; and was arranged in conference with the Western Iron Association. The union was never recognized by the Eastern manufacturers as a group, and a scale for the East could not be maintained for successive years. The western scale, then, may be regarded as a uniform scale for the effective jurisdiction of the Association. From the outset, there were tendencies toward a uniform price in the several district scales of the union. The Pittsburgh district had long set the pace in the price for boiling throughout the trade. The prices for boiling in other districts were generally expressed in terms of a differential from Pittsburgh prices.[23] The third district (that is, Cincinnati) agreement

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Chicago Bessemer Works. The men had been working for a per diem rate; the output increased from 150 to 300 tons, and the men struck for a tonnage scale.

[19] Proceedings, 1881, Appendix; Pittsburgh Scale of Prices, 1884-85, p. 18; Proc., 1880, Appendix, for similar instances,--Apollo, Leechburg, and Demmler, Pa.

[20] Ibid., 1884, p. 1401.

[21] Ibid., 1882, p. 802.

[22] Instead of separate books of district scales, all scales were printed in one book, beginning June, 1886.

[23] Ibid., 1880, pp. 408, 459, Appendices; Ibid., 1882, p. 799.

adopted in July, 1881, was the Pittsburgh scale plus ten per cent;[24] and the Wheeling or second district scale for the rolling branches in 1881-82 was precisely the Pittsburgh scale.[25] Nail-plate rolling west of the mountains was the Pittsburgh price.[26] The same was true of puddling and most of the finishing branches in the fourth district.[27]

In 1880, the Association began the movement toward uniformity by requiring that all district scales be approved by national committees of the respective branches before presentation to employers. As a further step in the direction of uniformity, the convention of 1881 enacted the provision that the Pittsburgh price should be taken as the basis of all district scales.[28] Accordingly, when the first district went on strike for an advance in prices, in 1882, most mills in other districts became involved.[29] The third district agreed to work with the understanding that they were to receive Pittsburgh prices when that scale was settled.[30] When the settlement was reached that fixed the rates for the first, fourth, and sixth districts, the second

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[24] Proceedings, 1881, p. 574.

[25] Wheeling Scales of Prices, 1881-82, pp. 4-7.

[26] Proceedings, 1881, p. 682; Ibid. 1882, p. 800.

[27] Ibid., 1881, p. 665; Ibid., 1882, p. 799.

[28] Ibid., 1881,p. 693; Constitution, 1880, Art. XIV. p. 23, Constitution, 1882, Art. X., pp. 22-24.

[29] Proceedings, 1882, pp. 814 ff.

[30] Ibid., 1882, pp. 804-06, 814-17; Ibid., 1883,p. 1197.

district retained its differential for boiling of twenty-five cents, above the Pittsburgh scale.[31] With this exception, the settlement of 1882 left the scales for the various branches practically uniform for the region west of the mountains.[32]

The adoption of uniform scales in all branches as a definite policy was delayed by the refusal of certain districts to give up their differentials above Pittsburgh rates. In 1882, the Cincinnati and St. Louis divisions[33] of the third district were temporarily compelled to accept Pittsburgh prices, but they were unwilling that such rates should be permanent.

The plan of taking the Pittsburgh scale as the basis of all district scales proved unsatisfactory. Two objections were offered to it: first, the first district could not always effect a settlement, and other districts were left in an unsettled state; and secondly, the first district had the entire burden of the struggle, while all the others received equal benefits.[34]

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[31] Proceedings, 1883, pp. 1084-88.

[32] Certain classes of workmen in steel mills, such as steel converting and furnace men, were as yet unprovided with a uniform scale. The union could not effectively organize them; and they were empowered to arrange their own scales.

[33] The St Louis division, in1882, became the fifth district.

[34] Proceedings, 1882, p. 799.

The convention of 1882 enacted that all district scales for iron mills should be referred to a national "scale convention", which should convene immediately before the stated convention. The scale convention was composed of the president, secretary, vice presidents, and delegates elected by the district conventions.[35] The scales were still to be presented to the manufacturers in separate district conferences, by conference committees, appointed by the national president.[36]

As ratified by the first scale convention which met in April, 1883, the price for puddling in the fifth district scale was $6.00 per ton--fifty cents above the Pittsburgh price--and the prices for finishing mills were likewise higher than the Pittsburgh scale.[37] The same puddling rate of $6.00 was adopted for the third district, and for finishing mills prices were fixed at ten per cent above Pittsburgh, the differential desired in 1881. The attempt to maintain prices higher than Pittsburgh, in both districts, met with failure. The third district was disorganized, and failed to enforce the scale generally.[38] In the fifth district only four mills signed the district scale, and the agreement finally reached called for practically the Pittsburgh scale of prices.[39]

The scale adopted by the 1884 convention was again uniform, except for the boiling differential of twenty-five cents in

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[35] Proceedings, 1882, pp. 961-62.

[36] Constitution, 1882, Art. X, pp. 22-24.

[37] Proceedings, 1883, pp. 1082, 1197-99. This rate had

the Wheeling district.[40] This scale became generally operative, except in the Cincinnati and St. Louis districts, which were badly disorganized.[41] In 1885, the scale convention decided to ask for the existing prices, and also to make the price of boiling uniform for all mills west of the mountains.[42] This made the scale practically uniform. The failure of the conference committee that year to reach an agreement with the manufacturers as a body caused a split in the Western Iron Association. The Pittsburgh manufacturers finally broke rank and signed the scale for their district, and this scale became the union scale for other districts.[43] Any mill in the Association was privileged to start up under this scale.[44] A uniform scale was thus enforced in finish-

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been intended for the scale of 1882-83, but it was not generally enforced.

[38] Ibid., pp. 1082, 1179.

[39] Proceedings, 1884, pp. 1346-48, 1420-23. An attempt was made to secure the Wheeling rate of $5.75 , but it could not be obtained.

[40] Proceedings, 1884, pp. 1333-35; Scales, 1884-85. The manufacturers, the year previous, did not meet with district committees for the first, second, fourth, and sixth districts, but with a general committee of the scale convention. (Proceedings, 1883, p. 1078).

[41] Proceedings, 1885, p. 1560, 1590, 1633, 1638-39.

[42] Ibid., 1885, p. 1651 . The second district was persuaded to give up its twenty-five cent differential.(Ibid., p.1579).

[43] National Labor Tribune, May 30 and June 26, 1885;

ing mills in 1885.[45] This scale was as nearly uniform as was ever covered by a single scale. Uniformity was brought about, however, by the refusal of employers in one district to pay a higher price than those in another, and not by the enforcement in lower-priced districts of prices paid in the districts enjoying a differential advantage.

A uniform scale was never maintained for the Eastern district successfully, altho many attempts were made to establish one, based on the western scale and a fixed differential. In certain years, such a scale was adopted for many branches included in the Pittsburgh scale.[46] In other years a scale was signed for Philadelphia and its immediate vicinity;[47] but, in 1889, when there was a Philadelphia scale, only three mills outside of Philadelphia paid the same prices.[48] An attempt was

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Proceedings, 1885, pp. 1551-55.

[44] Ibid., pp. 1557-58.

[45] After 1885, the Association, in order to economize in the matter of expenses, eliminated the scale convention, and thereafter a wage committee recommended to the general convention for definitive action any desired changes in the scale. The convention met in June instead of, as heretofore, in August; and the scale expired June 30. Conferees of the several divisions were appointed by the president to carry on negotiations with the manufacturers. (Proc., 1885, pp. 1581, 1657, 1690; Proc. 1886, p. 1825; Proc. 1887, p. 1969)

[46] Vulcan Record, 1874, pp. 13, 19; Eastern Scale of Prices, 1890-91.

[47] Proceedings, 1880 and 1881, Appendices; Ibid., 1887,

made as late as 1907-08 to establish an Eastern scale, but it failed because of the variations in prices paid.[49] The East has always been a bill of expense, without any permanent results, to the Association.

The union was never successful in establishing a uniform wage scale for the workmen in the steel trade, particularly in the converting and rail-rolling departments. Previous allusion was made to the failure to establish district scales for them.[50] Thereafter, the workmen arranged for the various steel plants in which they were employed, local scales, differing according to equipment and working conditions.[51] In 1887, a special convention of steel workers formulated a scale, but, following the recommendation of the steel workers' wage committee, the convention of 1888 decided it would be unwise to attempt to enforce a uniform scale at that time.[52] This practice of adopting local steel scales, after

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p. 1951; Proceedings 1889, pp. 2611, 2763; Philadelphia Scale 1890-01; Ibid., 1891, pp. 3312, 2560.

[48] Ibid. 1889, p. 2763.

[49] Ibid., 1908, pp. 8363-64; See, Ibid., 1904, pp. 6856 ff.

[50] Above, 172 & note

[51] Proceedings, 1886, pp. 1825 ff, 1756; Ibid., 1887, pp. 1922-24, 1946-47.

[52] Ibid., 1887, pp. 2145-47; Programme of Business, 1888, p.50; Proceedings, 1888, pp. 2221, 2275, 2337.

they had been approved by a wage committee, was continued by subsequent sessions.[53] The Association lost control of the steel mills after the Homestead strike of 1892, and by 1900 the steel plants were weakly organized.[54] After the struggle of 1901, the steel mills of the United States Steel Corporation were lost to the union.

Since 1885 the policy of the Amalgamated has been to maintain, west of the mountains, uniform prices for similar work and conditions. Since 1893, the scale has provided that, "whenever deviations from the Western Iron Scale---are made," either they shall be corrected or "all other mills shall receive the same".[55] This policy was carried out in practice. For example, in 1894, the manufacturers as a body failed, after many conferences, to reach an agreement. A few manufacturers agreed to the Association terms, and the scale thus signed became the union scale. In September, the scale was modified in some particulars, in conference with other manufacturers, and these changes, including certain reductions, were granted to all employers, including those who had previously signed.[56] The union, tho its membership has declined since 1901, still maintains the policy of uniform scales west of the mountains. It is the practice to

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[53] Proceedings, 1889, pp. 2601-03; Ibid., 1892, pp. 3803, 3964-67. National Labor Tribune, June,22, 1889, p. 4, c. 2; Proceedings, 1901, p. 6041.

[54] Ibid., 1899, pp. 5664-66; Ibid., 1900, p. 5909.

[55] Ibid., 1893, p. 4246; "Memorandum of Agreement" of Scales thereafter; See also Proceedings, 1904, p. 7113, and

hold three annual conferences, two on the puddling and finishing scales, and one for the sheet and tin division.[57]

The national scale does not, however, contain scales for all union mills in its jurisdiction. A number of mills and departments of mills have from time to time been given separate special scales because of variations from the regular types.[58] Too, the scattered mills of the East controlled by the Association have individual scales. Finally, there are some members of mill crews, particularly on muck and finishing mills, working under the uniform scale who do not have their rates specifically provided in the scale. Hookers, for instance, did not obtain an individual scale until the convention just closed (1916); finishers and straighteners are not yet indluded in the scales of prices.[59] The officials of the national union have repeatedly tried to extend the uniform scales so as to include these workmen but have failed because of non-uniformity in the work that these men are required to perform in different plants.[60] The rollers, in some

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Proceedings, 1907, p. 7910.

[56] Ibid., 1894, pp. 4533-37; Ibid., 1895, p. 4800.

[57] These conferences are held with the Republic Iron and Steel Company, the largest producer of muck iron; the Western Bar Iron Association, composed of bar iron manufacturers; and the Independent Sheet and Tine Plate Manufacturers, an association of independent manufacturers of sheet and tin plate. (Proc., 1916, pp.11502-10). See Chapter on Collective Bargaining.

[58] For examples, see Proc., 1889, pp. 2603, 2786; Ibid., 1904, pp. 7018-20, 7024, 7044, 7048; Ibid., 1905, pp. 7374, 7389.

[59] Interview of writer with Vice-president Ben F. Jones.

instances employ these men. The roller may, if he chooses, do part of the work of his crew himself; frequently he plays the role of finisher.[61] The wages of such men may be adjusted by the local union, either with the roller or with the employer.[62]

(2) The Three Features of Piece-Scale Construction.

(a) Differentiation of the Rate.

The function of the piece scale is to provide a distinct rate for each variety of product, and for each different type of conditions under which the product is normally made. These lines of differentiation are, chiefly, these: the form of the product, which includes variation in size, shape, and finish; and differences in materials entering into production.[63]

The first of these--differentiation in the form of the product--is by far the most common of those variations that require rate differentiation. The particular variety of product for which a given rate applies is determined, in some cases, by a gradation in physical measurements; in others, by the measure

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[60] Proceedings, 1882, p. 802; Ibid., 1883, p. 1249; Ibid., 1888, pp. 2289-90; Ibid., 1890, p. 3031; Ibid., 1906, p. 7513.

[61] The finisher, on a bar mill, passes the long strip of molten iron thro the rolls the last pass.

[62] These workmen not provided for in the scale are not admitted to membership by many local unions.

[63] McCabe, p. 19.

of comparative time. In the boiling department, a "heat" of, say, 550 pounds normally required less than two hours. The grade of skill necessary to produce a heat within this time-limit is that assumed to be average among the workmen in the trade. If iron or any mixture of material required longer time for boiling, it was considered a grievance, and extra pay was demanded.[64] In the sheet and tin division, the price list for rolling iron and steel bars or plates into sheets was based on the physical dimensions of the product. The sheets were rolled into the desired thinness and size. The index of thinness is the guage number;[65] and the guage number indicates the weight per square foot. The smaller the guage number, the thicker is the sheet and the greater its weight per unit of measurement.[66] The price is given per ton for each of the various guage numbers in the list.[67] As the thinner the sheets the greater number of passes thro the rolls, and consequently the longer the time, required to reduce a ton of bar-plate to the specified guage number, under equal conditions,,the price per ton for sheets of the same dimensions increases with the guage number.[68] Of course,

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[64] Scales of Prices, 1890-91, p. 5, footnote 2; and all subsequent scales.

[65] In 1893, the United States Standard Guage was inserted in the scale (Proceedings, 1894, p. 4534.). Previously the Partridge Standard Guage had been used (Ibid, 1887, p 21, 61).

[66] Western Scales of Prices, 1916, pp.36-38.

The number of pounds considered a ton varied. In 1880, the union passed a rule prohibiting any department making more than 2240 pounds of iron (but not of steel) for a ton. (Proc.1880,

it does not rise proportionately, since the difficulty does not increase in absolute proportion.

The rates for rolling on "finishing" mills vary, not only with the width of the rolls and the sizes of the iron, but also with the shapes. The great variety of shapes makes the price list descriptive of patterns as well as a schedule of rates following differences in measurements like that for sheet and tin mills.[69]

Most questions of rate differentiation have occurred in the matter of the materials employed in production. Such variations are more complex than those according to size and shape, and the greater effect upon earnings of price differentials according to materials have made the latter of greater relative importance. This is particularly true in the price for boiling.

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p. 458). In knobbling, however, 2464 pounds is the standard weight of a ton, ten per cent being added to take care of all loss. (Western Scales of Prices, 1916, p. 17).

[67] The Association occasionally had trouble with mills in which the members were required by the management to work "light guages" without extra pay. In such cases, the union rule was that the "mean price" should govern. (Proceedings, 1905, pp. 7247-53; Ibid., 1906, pp. 7535, 7559--60).

[68] For the classification of Sheet and Jobbing mills, see Proceedings, 1903, p. 6548; Ibid., 1905, p. 7185.---.

Guages eight and heavier, called "plates", are rolled in the plate mill; up to nineteen guage, "firebed", is rolled in a jobbing mill; guages nineteen and lighter, "sheets", are made

In this division of the trade, a tonnage rate for boilers is paid for working metal thro a process, not for reducing it to given shapes and sizes. This rate originally presupposed that the pig iron worked was of standard grade, and the first scales[70] contained no foot-note provisions for variations.

Gradually the manufacturers began to substitute iron of lower grade, or other materials to be worked with pig iron, and frequently these several materials were mixed and worked together. This practice gave rise to disputes as to the rates of pay, and consequently it became necessary to provide standard rates for these various materials or mixtures. As early as 1871, the national union upheld a local forge in a dispute involving a differential price for a particular kind of iron.[71] In 1874, workmen in thePittsburgh and Youngstown districts demanded fifty cents extra for working "hoop iron."[72] By 1875, differential

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in sheet mills (Western Scales of Prices, 1916, pp. 36-39).

[69] Western Scales of Prices, 1916, pp. 25-34

[70] The first scale (Feb. 13, 1865) may be found in the national Labor Tribune, Feb. 7, 1874, also in the Pennsylvania Bureau of Statistics, 1887, p.G 15. The second scale (July 23, 1867) is given in the Vulcan Record, No. 13, Dec., 1873, p. 36, and also in the Massachusetts Statistics of Labor, 1881, p. 12. The third scale (April 14, 1875) is contained in the Vulcan Record, No. 16, 1875, pp. 34-35.

[71] Vulcan Record, No. 10, (1872), p. 10; Clark & Co., Pittsburgh.

[72] Ibid., No. 14, (1874) pp. 37-38,52.

prices were paid for working "castings", "hoop iron", and "scrap", and the convention considered the question of making such rates uniform.[73] Uniform prices were not enforced for several years later. In 1877, the price for working "physic iron" was rated at one-fourth more than common iron.[74] From 1881, to 1916, five prices were added to the scale for materials rated higher than common pig iron, and, in a few cases, were added prices for materials rated at less than the regular boiling scale of prices.[75]

The evolution has been the resultant of many disputes, and the introduction of rates of an empirical character, particularly in the adjustment of a price to be paid for mixtures already rated. The convention of 1894 enacted that the price for mixed material not provided for in the scale should be the "mean price" between those of the materials used.[76] Nevertheless, dis-

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[73] Vulcan Record, No. 16, (1875), p. 57.

[74] Proceedings, 1877, p. 83. The rule made was that boilers making four heats of physic iron should be paid the same amount as for five heats of common iron. In this case, the time required to work "physic iron" was one-fourth longer.

[75] Compare scales of Prices for 1881-82 and for 1916-17, pp. 5-6. See also Proceedings, 1887, pp. 1948, 1950; Proceedings, 1902, p. 6262. See, also, Proc., 1901, pp. 5993, 5996.

[76] Proceedings, 1894, p. 4653.

In Sept., 1901, a dispute in the Helmbacher plant, St. Louis, as to the price to be paid for a certain mixture of iron worked on cinder bottom, was adjusted in this manner, by

agreements as to the price for particular mixtures have been frequent.[77]

In the finishing department, the question of rate differentiation to meet a difference in materials was raised when the practice of rolling steel in iron mills was introduced. Attention was first given the matter in 1880, when the convention adopted a resolution that in mills not working steel as a specialty "price and one half" should be paid.[78] In 1884, the scale pro-

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averaging the amount of the constituant materials and the relative price paid for each, if worked alone. Let us suppose, for example, a charge of 450# made up as follows: 300# cast iron swarth, 100# heavy scrap, and 50# wrought iron turnings. The price of clean swarth was the straight boiling price of $5.50; of heavy scrap one-half and of turnings 65 per cent of the boiling price. The price of the mixture would be calculated thus:

Swarth, 2/3 of $5.50 =	$3.67
Heavy Scrap, 2/9 of $2.75 =	0.611
Trunings, 1/9 of $3.57 =	0.397
Total,	$ 4.678

The price of the mixture, then, would be $4.67 8/10 per ton. (Proceedings, 1902, p. 6450).

[77] Proceedings, 1895, p. 4889; Ibid., 1903, pp. 6704, 6715; Ibid., 1904, p. 7022.

[78] Ibid., 1880, pp. 411, 444.

vided that "iron mills (except sheet mills) working steel" should pay "price and one-half for steel, except mild steel", the output of which equalled that of iron when working the same sizes. It was further provided that the rule of price-and-one-half should apply "when the output of steel is but three-fourths the output of iron".[79]

The adoption of a price differential for steel could not be maintained. The justification for the higher price for steel was the diminished output, since the steel was rolled on rolls particularly adapted to iron. But the men proved the fallacy of this argument. Spurred on to increased output by thehigher price, the workmen produced as much steel as iron, and in some cases even more. The result was evident--the employer insisted on an elimination of the differential rate. In 1886, the scale was altered so as to make the price for rolling iron and steel, for one class of finishing mills at least, identical.[80] The output continued to increase, so that by 1902 the rates for finishing steel had dropped slightly below the price for iron.[81] In 1906, steel rates were reduced again as compared with those for iron.[82] In the sheet mill division, likewise, a higher price

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[79] Pittsburgh Scale of Prices, 1884-85, p. 2, "Memorandum of Agreement".

[80] Proceedings, 1886, pp. 1756, 1825.

[81] Western Scales of Prices, 1902-03, pp. 14, 22.

[82] Ibid., 1906-07. p. 23; Amalgamated Journal, June 21, 1906. The scale, however, still provided that "where the output

for steel than for iron was maintained in the scale, up until 1904, for rolling the lighter guages.[83]

(b) Definition of the Work.

Complementary to the necessity of standardizing the rate of payment for each variety of product is the need for defining in the scale the work which the piece worker must do for the specified rate. Without clear definition ofthe work, the practice in vogue is apt to vary considerably in different plants or localities. Such variations among the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers have been generally with respect to (1) the auxiliary work which may or may not be done by the man who receives the rate, but which is not essential to the process, and (2) the payment by the worker, instead of by the employer, of helpers who work under the direction of the man receiving the piece price.[84] When the work has been defined so as to exclude all auxiliary tasks, the recipient of the rate, if he is willing to perform the extra work, will demand extra payment.

Generally the work required for a specified rate has been so well established by custom that it is not necessary to define it in the scale. Such practice has been fixed largely by protests on the part of workmen against innovations. In 1875, the puddlers successfully fought an attempt to make them wheel

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of steel is but three fourths the output of iron," the rule of price and one-half should obtain".

[83] Western Scales of Prices, 1903-04, p. 25; also, 1904-05, p. 25. A differential price was maintained for guages 22 and lighter.

[84] D.A. McCabe, The Standard Rate, p. 58.

their own cinder, ore, and "fix", and to remove ashes, so as to dispense with certain laborers, and the advantage thus gained accrued to the workmen of other mills in the district.[85]

The disposition to require the men to see that furnaces were in proper condition for "heats" and to look after them when the heats had been drawn was a source of great friction. In 1878, twenty-five cents extra was demanded for "putting up a hot fix".[86] The constitution of 1888 states that any boiler found putting "jams" or "checks" in the furnace with brick or fire clay should be fined five dollars.[87] Similar regulations were adopted governing the prohibition of certain extra tasks in the case of other work. For example, the practice of sheet mill heaters assisting in changing rolls was discontinued in 1880.[88] In 1899, it was provided that rollers should be paid

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[85] Vulcan Record, No. 16, 1875, p. 31.

[86] Proceedings, 1878, p. 169. Puddlers were generally expected to see that the furnaces were provided with "fix" before each heat. By "fix" is meant a certain mixture that was used to line the inside surface of the furnace so that the molten iron would not eat thro the walls. "Hot fix" was molten metal used as "fix", and had to be heated first. By using "hot fox" a better grade of product was made.

[87] The "jam" was the wall-like partition which allowed only so much heat to come in contact with the iron. This rule was not intended to prevent a puddler from putting a ball of fire-clay in the jams during the week in order to keep his fur-

$2.00, and roll hands a day's wages of common labor, for chang-rolls.[89] The same year a rule was adopted that "any tin roller or other member of his crew who should clean, grease or change rolls or other castings," should be fined for the first offense, and expelled from the union for the second offense, unless such work was paid for.[90] There were many similar instances.[91]

The most important rules defining the worker's tasks have from time to time been inserted in the printed copy of the scale, as foot-notes. They cover a variety of subjects. Several examples will illustrate. In the boiling and busheling department, the employer agrees to do "all necessary fixing, including the cutting of grates, hanging of doors, and all new brick work on bridges", except "the usual fixing between turns and heats."[92] All heavy scrap for busheling must be cut into eight inch pieces or smaller, and all materials placed within ten feet of the

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nace working; but to stop puddlers from doing the work of furnace builders, especially on Sundays. (Proceedings, 1888, p. 2263; National Labor Tribune, June 23, 1888, p. 4, c. 3, and June 28, 1890, p. 4, c. 3.).

88 Proceedings, 1880, pp. 402-03, 444.

89 Ibid., 1899, p. 5551.

90 Ibid., p. 5680.

91 For other instances, see Proceedings, 1881, p. 711; Ibid., 1890, pp. 3003-04; Ibid., 1892, p. 3972; Ibid., 1903, pp. 6768, 6776; Ibid., 1906, pp. 7635-39.

92 Western Scales of Prices, 1916, pp.7, 10, 12.

charging door.[93]

The payment of helpers and assistants by the recipients of the piece rate has been for years an important feature of the scale system of the Amalgamated. In the early days of the union the puddler and the roller were recognized as being in complete charge of the work of their respective departments. They hired the necessary helpers, and also paid them from their own rates.[94] The puddler paid his helper; the roller, the members of his crew. Scales have since been adopted for these workmen, first for the heater, then gradually for those employed about the set of rolls; and they were paid by the employer.[95] Since the scale explicitly stipulated by whom the regular members of the crew should be paid, there was seldom occasion for disagreement. Disputes have occurred chiefly over the payment of "extra" men who were needed to help on occasional orders for heavy material or to work continuously because the nature of the job required their permanent employment.

Unless the employer furnished additional help when needed, or increased the rate, it meant a reduction in the roller's wages. An extra man was usually required to handle the heavier

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[93] Western Scales of Prices, 1916, p. 9.

[94] Ashworth, J. H., The Helper and American Trade Unions, p. 72.

[95] Not until recently were scales made for the catcher, the roughers and hook-ups, in the bar mill; and for the roughers, catchers, and stranders, in the guide mill. The only workmen now paid by the roller are the straightener and the finisher.

sizes, and the difficulty of handling was greater than the increase in tonnage. Not infrequently, upon the request for extra help, the employer insisted that the roller should pay for it. Every branch of the trade experienced disputes of this nature, resulting in a scale provision covering the point at issue. The Pittsburgh Scale of 1887 provided that extra help be furnished by the employer for the heater on all iron and steel weighing over 160 pounds,[96] and extra men (not to exceed two) for sheet mill rolling "on all sheets thirty-six (36) inches wide and over".[97] The same scale contains a clause that muck mill rollers shall be given additional help in rolling billets "one inch and a half or less".[98] The convention of 1899 adopted a resolution that, on bar mills, "one man's help shall be furnished by the company on piles 150 pounds, and an addition man on piles of 250 pounds, to shove under at the rolls on all passes, and for every additional 100 pounds and over an additional man shall be furnished."[99]

Sometimes, particularly in the few scattered mills of one furnace, the roller does the work of the finisher himself, since the output is small. (Interview of writer with President, John Williams; see, also, Western Scales of Prices, 1916).

[96] Pittsburgh Scale of Prices, 1887-88, Memorandum of Agreement, p. 3.

[97] Ibid., p. 18.

[98] Ibid., p. 6.

[99] Proceedings, 1899, p. 5547. For similar instances, see Pittsburgh and Wheeling Scales of Prices, 1884-85; Proc., 1892, p. 3856; Ibid., 1903, p. 6550.

Similar footnotes have been gradually inserted in the scale until today there are a considerable number of such provisions. They have not, however, been gained without serious protests from manufacturers.[100]

The Association has established the rates to be paid by members to helpers who also belong to the union. Puddlers' helpers receive not less than "one-third and five per cent" of the puddler's rates;[101] Heaters' helpers on sheet mills "not less than 40 per cent of heater's wages".[102] The helper frequently receives more than this; and, in some cases, the two men work the furnace "level handed", that is, on equal shares. In 1880, the rates to be paid by rollers to roughers and catchers was, by agreement, inserted in the scale.[103] Since that time have been added to the scales the wage rates of other workmen. Men who are not "regular" members of the crew, employed about the rolls, but who belong to the union, make their own terms with those who employ them, subject to the scrutiny of the local union. Their wages may not be reduced during the scale year, and are subject to the fluctuations of the sliding scale.[104]

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[100] See, for example, Program, 1889, pp. 17, 20; Proc., 1893, p. 4412; Ibid., 1903, pp. 6667.

[101] Proceedings, 1891, pp. 3274, 3353; see chapter on Apprenticeship and the Helper System.

[102] Western Scales of Prices, 1916, p. 43; for Jobbing Mills, see Constitution, 1916, Art. XIX, Sec. 3.

[103] Pittsburgh Scales of Prices, 1881-82, p. 15.

[104] Proceedings, 1899, pp. 5565, 5620; Ibid., 1905,

Within recent years, the Association has endeavored to include in the scale specified rates for all members of crews, and to have them paid directly by employers. In 1905, the sheet and tin agreement provided that "all regular tonnage and day hands" should receive their pay envelope from the office.[105] This rule has since remained in force. Many regular members of crews in the finishing mills, in 1890, were paid by the roller; but, at present, only two workmen about the train of rolls do not receive their wages directly from the employer.[106]

(c) Abnormally Difficult Conditions of Production.

Finally, deficient materials which make the production of flawless iron or steel abnormally difficult have demanded attention on the part of the workmen because of the effect on earnings. In the puddling division, coal and iron of poor quality caused considerable trouble. In 1877, the puddlers in a Pittsburgh forge refused to fire their furnaces with slack coal, which did not produce sufficient heat and consequently increased their labor. In the same year there was a strike against poor ore.[107] Such grievances became so numerous[108] that, in 1883, the conven-

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p. 7366; Constitution, 1901, Art. XVII, sec. 22; Ibid, 1916, Art. XVII, Sec. 21.

[105] Amalgamated Journal, July 6, 1905, p. 1.

[106] See note, p. 193.

[107] Proceedings, 1877, pp. 46-47, 83.

[108] In 1878-79, old rails were substituted for muck bar,

tion adopted a resolution that iron requiring more than an hour and three-quarters to make a heat should be considered a grievance.[109] This action was placed in the constitution.[110] In 1885, it was provided in the scale that cracked or flawed iron made out of old rails be paid for, otherwise the price for working old rails should be ten per cent above common pig iron.[111] Later a clause was added to the scale that inferior coal should be con-sidered a grievance.[112] However, disputes on this issue had to be adjusted regularly.[113]

In the sheet and tin division, while the "turn" system of working and payment was in vogue, the danger of roll hands suffering occasional reductions in their earnings was greatly lessened. This system is a combination of piece work and a guaranteed wage. The regular members of the crew were paid a fixed wage per turn, except the roller who received a tonnage rate. Their wages per turn and the stipulated number of "pairs" to be

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and the puddlers complained that the iron was "of bad quality" and would not "stand the test of heating". (Proceedings, 1878, pp. 131). A differential of thirty cents above the price of heating and rolling was demanded. (Ibid., p. 178), but could not be enforced (Proceedings, 1879, p. 224); See, also, Proc., 1881, pp. 668, 671; Ibid., 1882, p. 941

[109] Proceedings, 1883, p. 1231

[110] Constitution, 1884, Art. XVIII, Sec. 21.--After three days notice, the men should cease work.

[111] Proceedings, 1885, pp. 1551-55.

to be rolled per turn were fixed in 1880 and specified in the scales.[114] The turn limits agreed upon for those who were paid by the roller and those paid by the employer were identical. If the number of pairs were increased, the turn wage increased proportionally. By the provisions of this system, if the members of the crew failed to reach the stipulated number of pieces,[115] thro no fault of their own, they received the turn's wage. In 1905, the turn limits were given up entirely.[116] Thereafter, the turn workers were practically on an unlimited system until 1908, when they were put on a straight piece basis.[117]

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[112] Western Scales of Prices, 1902-03, p. 6.

[113] Proceedings, 1887, p. 2056; National Labor Tribune, Mar. 29, 1890, p. 4, c. 2; Proc., 1891, pp. 3517-18, 3528, 3534; Ibid., 1900, p. 5835; Ibid., 1902, p. 6437; Ibid., 1903, pp. 6668; 6701, 6726; Ibid., 1904, p. 6990.

[114] Pittsburgh Scales of Prices, 1881, p. 15.

[115] The number of pieces per turn was generally the limit of output. These were usually averaged for a period of, say, two weeks. So the failure to reach the number on any one day meant no loss to the members of the crew in average earnings.

[116] Amalgamated Journal, July 6, 1905, p. 1.

[117] Western Scales of Prices, 1908-09, pp. 32-40.

CHAPTER VII

THE WORKING DAY.

The success of the Union in maintaining " a fair day's wage" for its members has been signal, but scarcely more so than its success in reducing the hours of labor. A rise in real wages, generally speaking, means more of the necessaries and conveniences of life;[1] a diminution of the hours of labor, the opportunity to enjoy them. The shortening of the work day means more than freedom from toil; it means leisure and recreation, education and family life, which are essential to the efficiency of the workman, and to an improved standard of living. This viewpoint has the weight of most reputable authority. To quote from Professor Marshall:[2] "When the hours and general conditions of labor are such as to cause great wear-and-tear of body or mind, ---and to lead to a low standard of living; when there has been a want of that leisure, rest, and repose, which is one of the necessaries for efficiency; then the labour has been extravagant from the point of view of society at large, just as it would be extravagant on the part of the individual capitalist to keep his horses or slaves overworked or underfed." A moderate reduction of the hours would mean an improved standard of living; and when this higher standard of life had had its full effect on the efficiency of the workmen, their increasesd energy, intelligence and force of character would enable

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[1] Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, Book I, Chap. IV.

[2] Marshall, Alfred, Economics of Industry, Bk. VI, C.XII, sec. 11.

them to do as much work as before in less time. There need be no decrease in material production, and "no more ultimate loss than is involved by sending a sick worker into hospital to get his strength renovated". Herein lies the germ of truth in the trade union doggerel:

"Whether you work by the piece, or work by the day,
Decreasing the hours increases the pay."

If shorter hours are not justified by an empirical increase in production and a diminution in cost, excessive hours should not be tolerated because of humanitarian and physiological interests; material wealth exists for man, and not man for material wealth. In the language of Professor Hollander, "the ultimate goal of society is, not wealth, but weal."

The policy of the Amalgamated Association has been inseparably associated with the regulations aiming to restrict the output. As pointed out in another chapter,[3] it apparently rested on the fallacy that a general lessening of the hours of labor would entail a permanent increase in the demand for labor. The error obviously lies in the assumption of a fixed Work-Fund, a certain amount of work which has to be done, whatever wages be paid. Of course, the long work day was deprecated because of physiological consequences, particularly in early years;[4] and the belief was current that shorter hours, because of curtailed output, would afford higher piece wages.

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[3] See chapter on Restriction of Output, p. 218, and note.

[4] Vulcan Record, No. 7 (Dec. 1870), p. 8.

The clamor for a shorter workday began with the close of the Civil War, and the struggle has been kept up unabated until the present. The success of the union in diminishing the hours of labor has been gradual and continuous, tho not uniform in the various departments of the industry. Reductions in hours of work have been the more significant because, once gained, the shorter working day is well defended and seldom relinquished. In times of depression, the incentive for employers to reduce wages is stronger than to increase hours, since there is less demand for labor. Too, efforts to maintain Sunday and the usual holidays as days of rest have generally met with success. The shorter work-day, sometimes obtained by means of strikes, has chiefly been procured by trade agreement. Overtime has never been a serious problem with the Iron and Steel Workers.[5] The present discussion will concern itself with the development of the policy of the Association with reference to the standard hours of labors in the several departments, (a) boiling, (b) finishing, and (c) sheet and tin divisions. The problems of each were essentially different.

A. Boiling Division.

Complaints against slavish hours of labor were commonplaces among the early puddlers. In 1870, certain mills were reputed to be working fourteen and fifteen hours a day. The

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[5] The matter of overtime caused considerable friction in the case of nailers. See Proceedings, 1879, p. 262; Ibid., 1887, p. 2149. See also Ibid., 1903, p. 6700.

length of the day was fixed by custom; the puddlers fired their furnaces between three and four o'clock in the morning, and considered six "heats" a day's work. The time required varied with conditions, as, for instance, the quality of the metal, seldom permitting the puddler to quit before sunset.[6] The piece-work system gave universal vogue to this custom, and very few places were able to shuffle it off. The workmen kept "sawing away, regardless of hours, knowing nothing but work, work!"

With the restriction of the number of heats, and the limitation of the weight of the charge, the long hours of the puddler were considerably reduced by the year 1890. The next year, in order to prevent the employment of hard iron from increasing the hours of the boiler, the convention enacted that the limit of time for a heat in a single furnace should be an hour and three-quarters.[7] This rule met with determined opposition for a few years on the part of the employers, but was ultimately acquiesced in.

These regulations, directly intended to restrict the output, simultaneously prescribed a definite, tho not an arbitrary, limit to the length of the working day. Five heats averaging an

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[6] Vulcan Record, No. 7, (Dec. 1870), p. 8; ibid., No. 12 (1873), p. 51; ibid., No. 14 (1874) pp. 18-19.

[7] Proceedings, 1891, p. 3330. The time limit for larger furnaces was graded as follows: double furnace, one hour, fifty minutes; double double furnace, two hours; Siemen's furnace, one hour fifty-five minutes. The time was reckoned from the moment the door was dropped until the heat was ready to draw, barring accidents and unpreventable drawbacks.

hour and three-quarters per heat would require approximately nine hours. In addition, the puddler must heat up his furnace before starting, do the ordinary fixing between heats, and leave the furnace in shape for the next turn coming on. The time required for this supplementary work varies from one to two hours. Consequently, on double turn, the puddler generally averages over ten hours a day; and, on single turn mills, in which six heats are allowed, practically twelve hours. Such is the status of the hours of labor in the boiling division at the present writing.[8]

Attempts to introduce the system of three eight-hour shifts in boiling have been, in general, unsuccessful. The objections have chiefly been on the part of the workmen, and are two-fold: In the first place, earnings are apt to be less, since it is not easy to make five heats in eight hours, and it is imperative that the puddler have his heat out by the time the next turn comes on. Secondly, the workman enjoys less freedom under an eight-hour system. The puddler has always been accustomed to arrange for himself the time for starting and quitting. He objects to being hurried in order to produce a reasonable output, and at the same time keep his furnace in good working shape, outside of the usual fixing between heats.

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[8] The Louisville convention of 1916 adopted the eight-hour day for all departments, but it was not unduly pressed in the conference with employers for economic reasons; i.e., temporary scarcity of labor.

For these reasons,[9] they consider the three-turn system impracticable. The Amalgamated has succeeded in resisting the demands of the manufacturers for three turns in union plants;[10] there are, however, a few non-union mills employing three shifts.[11]

In the busheling department, the workmen generally work three shifts. This is explained by the fact that busheling requires only a few minutes for a heat. Scrap and swarth are used very largely, and the iron is not fomented. Consequently, bushelers need not come to work until about fifteen minutes before the muck mill begins to roll.[12] The eight-hour system

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[9] A minor objection to the three shifts was the fear of introducing more men into the trade than could be absorbed (Proceedings, 1894, p. 4562).

[10] For instances of disputes over the three turn system, see Proceedings, 1885, pp. 1559-60; Ibid., 1893, pp. 4267, 4335-36; Ibid., 1894, pp. 4561-62.

[11] Several mills of the United States Steel Corporation, as for example, the Frankstown mill and the Wharton plant, both of Pittsburgh, also the A. M. Byers Co. of Girard, Ohio, work three shifts of eight hours.

[12] The scale does not prescribe three turns for muck mill hands, but it is provided in a footnote that "on muck or puddle mills on which three crews are employed three rollers shall also be employed". (Proceedings, 1904, p. 6850; Western Scales of Prices, 1916, p. 14).

for bushelers has become so well established in practice that no specific rule is necessary. Practically the only exception among union plants is the Empire mill, Cleveland, where the nine-and a-quarter-hours rule obtains.[13] In case of a shut-down, it is provided that the workmen shall wait forty-five minutes "from the time the next four furnaces are ready after the stoppage occurs". The company is expected if possible, to "bloom" and to pay for all heats which are ready to be taken to the squeezers.[14]

B. Finishing Mills.

Long hours have been a characteristic feature of the work day in practically all finishing mills. In 1877, instances of heaters and roll hands working a fifteen-hour day were not uncommon. The Columbus session of that year provided, as a restrictive measure, that the first heating furnace should quit charging at three o'clock when the rolls started at five in the morning. Allowing for the time required to heat the furnace before the rolls began to operate, and the necessary time for drawing the last heat, this regulation failed to limit

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[13] The nine-and-a-quarter-hours clause was adopted in 1892 for scrapping and busheling departments, to apply to mills not working shorter charging hours. (Proceedings, 1892, p. 3856).

[14] Proceedings, 1910, p. 8785; Western Scales of Prices, 1916, pp. 6, 9, 12, 14, 15. This rule applies to boiling, busheling, --both on sand and cinder bottom--, muck mill, and piles on boards.

working hours beyond a twelve-hour day. Resort was next had to limiting the daily output in the several mills--bar, nail, plate, and guide--to a fixed tonnage weight.[15] This measure likewise proved ineffective, since the workmen either employed the same time by working less vigorously or--which was even more common--they violated the fixed limit. Finally, after repeated efforts,[16] spurred on by the wide-spread agitation of the American Federation of Labor for the eight-hour day,[17] the union, in 1892, adopted the so-called "nine-and-a-quarter-hour" system for all finishing departments.[18] This clause fixed the length of the work day at "nine hours and fifteen minutes from the regular time the mill begins to roll until the first furnace commences to charge the last heat." This rule has remained valid up to the present.[19]

The Amalgamated Association, in its attempts to introduce the eight-hour day in finishing mills, encountered difficulty analogous to what was experienced in the boiling division. The movement met with opposition both from the employers and the workmen. At the St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor, the representatives of the Iron and Steel Workers registered their votes in favor of the eight-hour day

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[15] Proceedings, 1878, pp. 176-77.

[16] Ibid., 1887, p. 1969; National Labor Tribune, June 25, 1887, p. 4, c. 2; Ibid., July 2, 1887, p. 4, c. 3.

[17] Financial Statement, AA of I.S. & T. W., Jan. 31, 1889, pp. 6-7; Proc., 1890, pp. 3029, 3137, 3142, 3162, 3169; National Labor Tribune, June 28, 1890, p. 4, c. 3.

[18] Procedings, 1892, p. 3856.

"in order to have the matter go out as being unanimous, but with the distinct understanding that it was utterly impossible [for the union] to enforce the movement in the mills at present, owing to the diversity of work and the irregular hours" of employment of the members "who work on the tonnage system."[20] All members were urged to attend the mass meetings and show by their presence that the union "at heart" favored the propaganda, but to take no active part in them, lest such action be "construed as committing [the organization] to the enforcement of the eight-hour system on May 1, 1890, the date set for its inauguation". Consisten with this position, the following convention enacted that "wherever practicable, any mill, department or factory under the jurisdiction of this Association, desiring to do so, may upon agreement with the management arrange to work on the eight-hour system".[21] The union did not,

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[19] Western Scales of Prices, 1916-17, pp. 21, 22, 32; the clause is inserted in scales for bar and 12-inch mills, specialty mills working pipe or skelp, guide, ten-inch, hoop, and cotton tie mills. For more definitive ruling, see Proc., 1913, pp. 10044, 10052. On muck or puddle mills, on which three crews are employed, the scale provides that "three rollers shall also be employed". (Ibid., p. 14).

[20] Financial Statement, Jan. 31, 1889, pp. 6-7.

[21] Proc., 1890, pp. 3029, 3137-69; National Labor Tribune, June 28, 1890, p. 4, c. 3; Proc., 1891, p. 3643.

however, think it advisable "to go into conflict in order to obtain it". Several mills adopted it without any contest, such as the Homestead Steel Works, Oliver and Roberts' wire rod mill, and the Braddock Wire Company.[22] This was practically as far as the Association legislated in the direction of the eight-hour day.[23]

The union has most recently--in the conventions of 1915 and of 1916--adopted resolutions that the eight-hour day

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[22] National Labor Tribune, July 19, 1890, p. 4, and July 26, 1890, p. 4. For a time, the eight-hour day seemed to increase its vogue.

The union was never successful in reducing hours of labor and overtime in nail factories, altho laws were passed to this effect (Proceedings, 1879, p. 262; Ibid., 1880, p. 452; Ibid., 1887, p. 2149). Nor could the eight-hour turn be enforced in rail mills (Proc., 1876, pp. 176-77; Ibid., 1881, p. 711; Ibid., 1885, pp. 1561--62) and steel plants, except temporarily (National Labor Tribune, April 14, 1888, p. 1, c. 1, in case of Edgar Thomson Steel Works, Braddock; Proc., 1894, p. 4677; Ibid., 1898, p. 5437). The Homestead Steel Works employed the twelve-hour shifts after the struggle of 1892, and the large steel plants of the United States Steel Corporation began to operate certain departments twelve hours a day, including Sunday, after the big steel strike of 1901.

[23] Proceedings, 1902, p. 6261; Ibid., 1907, pp. 7831, 7861. The eight-hour system was insisted upon in case of 10-inch, guide and hoop mills averaging $35 per turn (based on a

be introduced generally in all union plants, that is, in the finishing and puddling departments as well.[24] The reason for the delay of its adoption by the convention was the opposition of the workmen. It meant a temporary wage reduction, and they were unwilling to accept it. Consequently, finishers generally work two turns and --in the vernacular of the men--"the night turn can always shake hands with the day turn". The union leaders maintain that the three-turn system has been successful in plants in which it is now operating;[25] that "it decreases the waste, increases the output, and in consequence of that fact decreases the cost of production;" that "to the men it gives assurance of sufficient time to rest and think, while under the present conditions all they can do is eat, sleep, and work;[26] and finally, that it is the only means to maintain the wage rate, since manufacturers, in requesting a reduction, invariably point to the large output of certain mills and the large earnings of the workmen. The manufacturers, moreover, altho they have in conference expressed a willingness to give the

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one-cent card rate) on a single furnace, and $65 per turn on two furnaces; also, of bar and 12-inch mills averaging 60000# single, and 80000# double, furnace.

[24] See, also, Proceedings, 1914, p. 10466.

[25] The following union plants employ the three eight-hour shifts in finishing mills: Kansas City Nut and Bolt Co.; Interstate Co., Marion, O.; National Rolling Mill Co., Vincennes, Ind; the Pacific Coast Steel Co., San Francisco, Cal.;

three-turn system a trial, as a body are not favorably disposed to its introduction, because of alleged increased cost of production. The union feels disinclined to force it on employers for fear of "squeezing out" the marginal entrepreneur, and consequently the issue has failed of ratification in the annual conference between the workmen and the manufacturers. It is a fairly safe prediction, however, that the eight-hour day for all departments of union mills will be realized in the not-distant future.[27]

Sheet and Tin Plate Mills.

The sheet and tin plate departments alone have succeeded in maintaining the universal three-turn system, or the eight-hour day. As early as 1885, sheet mills were allowed to work three shifts of eight hours, providing the crews did not exceed the specified limit of output.[28] This, however, was not conceded by the union without some opposition.[29] The objections which the union offered to the introductionof the triple-turn were, principally, (a) overproduction and (b) the admission of

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and the National Enameling and Stamping Co., Granite City, Ill., In the case of non-union plants, the Sharon (Pa.) Steel Hoop Co. has the three-turn system. Practically all mills of the United States Steel Corporation employ the twelve-hour day on Bar and Finishing mills.

See Chapter on The Standard Rate, p.167, note, for actual hours of labor in the iron and steel industry, generally.

[26] Proceedings, 1907, p. 7998.

[27] Above, p. 203, note. -- [28] Proceedings, 1885, p.1667.

too many workmen into the trade, causing ultimate slackness of employment[30] and reduction in wages. The manufacturers, on the other hand, pointed out the waste of keeping the furnaces hot between turns, and the necessity of continuous and uniform output in order to keep the rolls in proper working condition. The logic of their arguments was compelling; and within a few years the system of three turns for sheet mills was generally conceded. The eight-hour turn was peculiarly well adapted to working conditions in the sheet mill department.

When the tin business began to prosper about 1890, the union allowed the three-turn system of operation for tin mills.[31] In addition, the scale provided what should constitute the limit of output for a day's work. It was frequently the case that the crew produced the fixed tonnage in less time than eight hours, particularly when rolling the wider sizes of sheets.

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[29] For examples, see Proceedings, 1880, pp. 458-459, 4\61; Ibid., 1883, p. 1171; Ibid., 1885, p. 1547.

[30] In 1898, Ex-President Garland, in his report to the convention, stated that three-fourths of the members of the union were working on the eight-hour system; and that the workmen who were employed eight hours per day averaged more days' work per year than those working the longer shifts. This serves to disprove the fallacy that shorter hours gives less work. (Proceedings, 1898,p. 5418).

[31] Ibid., 1890, p. 3142.

The manufacturer objected to any interval between successive turns, during which the rolls were allowed to cool off. Besides, said they, it was prodigal to be obliged to keep the furnaces hot when the mill was not running. Accordingly, they insisted that the crews "follow out", that is, one crew should succeed another without any loss of time. It was also pointed out by employers that this method of working, since the last crew would finish earlier on Saturday, would give the management an opportunity to make any necessary repairs in the plant.

The union did not view the practice of "following out" with any degree of favor. In the first place, the privilege--it was so alleged--was abused. Certain mills were reported to have finished the week's work by Saturday morning, and even earlier.[32] Such abuse, they reasoned, would, if continued, lead to a request of the manufacturers for a removal of the limit. The consequences of a "no limit" which the workmen feared have been discussed elsewhere.[33] As a remedial measure, the Association adopted that "eight hours shall be a day's work on tin or black plate mills, said mills not to follow out except on Friday and Saturday, when a full day's turn shall not be made in less

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[32] In 1903, the sheet department of Zug's mill, Pittsburgh, finished the week's work "as early as midnight on Friday". The lodge of which the workmen were members was found guilty of violating the union rule in this respect, and ordered to give up the practice under threat of having its charter revoked. (Proceedings, 1903, pp. 6596--6604).

[33] See Chapter on Restriction of Output, pp.217-218, and note; also pp. 232-233.

than seven hours and forty-five minutes".[34] A penalty was attached--suspension or forfeiture of charter--but the law was not rigidly adhered to. All restrictive measures as to output were abolished in 1905, and these regulations became nullo vigore simultaneously. The eight-hour shift has been continued in practically all tin plate plants, because the system was found to be as applicable to tin mills as it was well adapted to sheet mills.[35]

Sunday Labor and Holidays.

Up until the early eighties, the national union made no attempt to preserve, as days of rest, Sunday and the usual holidays. The matter was left to local agreement between the workmen and the employer.[36] In 1883, the convention passed a resolution that "all Bessemer mills governed by this Association cease all Sunday work, except that which is necessary after the first of January, 1884".[37] This action did not, of course, put an end to the practice, and protests were commonly voiced.[38]

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[34] Proceedings, 1900, p. 5736. See also Ibid., 1895, p. 4937; Ibid., 1899, p. 5557. For similar enactment governing sheet mills, see Proc., 1901, p. 6166.

[35] On a three-turn mill, no member of a crew was permitted to work longer than eight hours (Proc., 1901, p. 6051). There are instances of mills being allowed to work four turns of six hours each, provided the limit of output for twenty-four hours was not exceeded. (Proc., 1900, pp. 5836, 5839).

For hours of tinners and risers in 1903 (at that time members of the International Tin Plate Workers' Protective Association), see article by Secy.-Treas. Charles E. Layer, in Amer-

The belief was held, as in the case of excessive production, that Sunday labor tended to reduce wages, as well as to cause physiological deterioration of the workmen. Accordingly, steel and rod mills--which commonly operated on Sunday--were required to stop rolling not later than five o'clock on Saturday and not to commence until Monday morning.[39]

The Amalgamated provides, not only that no skilled workmen be required to work on Sunday, but also a shorter work day on Saturday, in order to permit the workmen to enjoy the rest day properly. Puddle mills, on single turn, make five

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ican Federationist, V. 10 (Sept., 1903), p. 841.

[36] Vulcan Record, No. 10 (1872), p. 43. Occasionally mills were constrained to cease operations on Sunday, by pressure of public opinion and local civic and philanthropic societies (National Labor Tribune, May 13, 1882, p. 4, c. 1).

[37] Proceedings, 1883, p. 1238.

[38] Ibid., 1894, p. 4677.

[39] Ibid., 1894, p. 4677; Ibid., 1896, p. 4988; Ibid., 1897, p. 5188. Many of the plants of the United States Steel Corporation, particularly the large steel mills, now non-union, operate on Sunday. In some instances, the state law requires one day's rest in seven, but--as one workman in the Duquesne mill told the writer--he "celebrates his Sunday on Tuesday", or some other week day.

instead of six heats. Bushelers quit charging after seven hours. Finishing mills stop rolling seven hours from the time the mill started to roll; sheet and tin mills work the eight-hour shift only. Such advantages have not been maintained, however, without vigilant effort.[40]

Up until 1903, the union provided no uniform rule for working on holidays, with one exception. No member was allowed to work on Labor Day, under penalty of a fine from $5 to $25.[41] In 1903, mills were forbidden to operate on six holidays--New Years, Decoration Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving, and Christmas.[42] Four years later, Thanksgiving, New Years and Decoration Day were eliminated.[43] The remaining holidays--Fourth of July, Labor Day, and Christmas--are still observed.[44] The others are left for local arrangement.[45] A shorter workday is provided for days preceding holidays, such as is required for Saturday.

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[40] Proceedings, 1904, p. 6903; Ibid., 1907, pp. 7831, 7844, 8068; Ibid., 1915, p. 11018.

[41] Report of Industrial Commission, 1901, p. 217.

[42] Proc., 1903, p. 6786.

[43] Ibid., 1907, pp. 7834, 7928, 8054.

[44] Ibid., 1916, p. 11644; Const., 1916, Art. XVII, sec. 27.

[45] Proc., 1914, p. 10466.

CHAPTER VIII

RESTRICTION OF OUTPUT.

In 1901 there appeared in the London Times a number of articles attacking British trade unions for alleged restriction of output of industry. In these jeremiads, British workmen were charged with a conspiracy to do as little work per man as possible; and to this cause could be attributed the decline of British trade and commerce.[1] The actual amount of such restriction of output was highly magnified; and probably this practice exists in the United States to a far less extent than in England. It is, therefore, fitting that the student of labor problems, instead of ridiculing and reviling the trade unions, should try to examine the matter from their viewpoint.

The great importance of the problem of restriction every one is ready to admit. Upon this question there need be no difference of opinion. Any policy of restriction, any make-work device, except a reasonable limitation of the hours of labor, is short-sighted; since the reward of labor is based upon the output of labor, and the remuneration of the laboring classes is the basis of national prosperity.[2]

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[1] Commons, Trade Unionism and Labor Problems, Chap. XI (by G. Binney Dibblee), pp. 289-303; Reprint of the Times articles under the caption of "Trade Unions and British Industry", (London, 1904).

[2] Hollander, J. H., "The Abolition of Poverty", pp.47,60.

Restriction of output is practiced both by employers and employees in the iron and steel industry. In 1904, there were at least seven associations or pools of manufacturers in which separate companies had entered into agreements to fix prices by restricting output.[3] One purpose underlying the formation of large industrial combinations, such as the United States Steel Corporation, is that of controlling the output so as to raise prices and increase net profits. The withdrawal of natural resources from use, even tho justifiable, is a form of limitation of output. In the power to control output lies the real essence of monopoly. The employer's interest is in the production of values rather than of goods. The market value of a small quantity may be greater than that of a larger quantity; and it is often profitable to restrict the output, thus enabling the seller to raise the price sufficiently to increase the total income from the sale of the diminished quantity.

The Amalgamated Association, until 1905, prescribed in the annual scale, negotiated with the manufacturers, limitations upon the output of workmen in the various kinds of mills, according to three methods: (a) restricting the size of the charge and the number of heats per turn in puddling mills; (b) restricting the number of bars to be rolled per turn in sheet mills; and (c) restricting the number of pounds of tin

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[3] Eleventh Sp'l Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1904, pp. 235-236.

plate to be rolled in tin-plate mills. The prevalence of the team system on a piece rate or tonnage basis is a partial explanation of the attitude of the union in limiting the amount of work of the majority of its members. The purpose of such regulations has been to prevent price reductions,[4] exhaustion of the workers, and reduction of the number employed; and it was the firm belief of union leaders that these effects were directly traceable to excessive output.[5] The "health-of-the-worker" argument was given greatest emphasis by the union leaders. Since the entire team must work together, by "speeding up", any member who was physically inferior was subject to strain and overexertion.[6] There was of course the fear of a cut in the piece-rates, as will be shown later. The practice of "soldiering"--the English "ca' canny"--, with a view to making jobs for other workmen, figured very slightly.

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[4] The union argument that excessive output tends to wage reductions was somewhat as follows:

Let us assume that a puddler is working at a piece-rate of $5 per ton; and that his average output per day was, in five heats, a ton and a quarter. His daily earnings, then, would be $6.25. (Out of this amount he must pay his helper). By greater exertion and longer hours, the puddler makes six heats, and, if the output is a ton and a half, he averages $7.50 per day. Immediately thereafter the scale is reduced to $4.25 per ton, and his daily earnings for increased output are reduced to the former level of practically $6.25. Again

A. Puddling[7] Department.

The puddlers were the pioneers in the adoption of measures for the curtailment of the finished product. The method employed was to limit the number of "heats" which a puddler might work in a puddling furnace. In 1867, the convention limited

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the puddlers seek to increase their output and, by still greater exertion, a few of them manage to make seven heats; whereupon, after a few months, the tonnage scale is cut to $3.75, and only the more efficient workmen can now earn $6.25 per day. Only a few men can earn a fair wage, while the majority are thrown below it. The result is apparent. The higher rate is undermined, the quality of the product suffers deterioration, the health of the workmen is endangered, and the majority of them are underpaid.

For similar reasoning, see Proceedings, 1889, pp. 2690-2691.

[5] Proceedings, 1877, pp. 53-54; Ibid., 1883, p. 1115; Ibid., 1905, p. 7227.

[6] Ibid., 1886, p. 1834, Ibid., 1887, pp. 1917, 1950; Ibid., 1888; pp. 2307, 2326-28; Ibid., 1899, p. 5586; Ibid., 1900, pp. 5741, 5909; Ibid., 1902, p. 6441; Ibid., 1903, p. 6701.

[7] Puddling means the reduction of pig iron to muck bar. This is done by boiling the iron. In early times, the metal was sort of "baked", instead of "boiled", until the alloyed metals became viscous or "pasty"; this was--strictly speaking--

a day's work to five (5) heats in double-turn mills, and six (6) for a single turn.[8] This applied to mills west of the Alleghany mountains only, in consequence of the different mode of working in the East.[9] This rule, however, did not immediately put an end to the practice of working extra heats and long hours. In 1870, for example, President John Edwards pointed out that "some mills were known to be working seven heats, from four in the morning to seven and eight o'clock at night", and that the men were "not only killing themselves, but depriving others from making a living by stopping the double turn."[10]

The cupidity of the men to swell their earnings by increased output led to overcharging the furnace. Tho the law did not cover this point, it was patent to the leaders that such action served to increase the evils which the union sought to ameliorate. Heats were charged so heavily that they could not be made in any less time, and in addition it required

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the process correctly described as "puddling". There is practically no puddling done in the United States today. The words "puddling" and "boiling" are used interchangeably, the former being the more common in the East, the latter in the West.

[8] Vulcan Record, No. 1, p10 (1867).

[9] Vulcan Record, No. 7 (Dec., 1870), p. 8.

[10] Ibid., p. 8; see also Ibid., no. 4, (1869), pp. 17, 18; ibid., no. 12 (1873), pp. 26, 52.

more laborious effort to handle the iron properly and the product was consequently of inferior quality.[11] To remedy this defect, the convention of 1878 fixed the weight of a charge for a boiling furnace at five hundred (500) pounds.[12] This made the day's output 2500 pounds for a double turn, and 3000 pounds on single turn.[13] Six years later, the union increased the limit of weight for a charge to 550 pounds for single furnaces.[14] This rule has since continued in force, modified only by the provision for averaging the two weeks' work.[15]

A minor question of dispute between the union and employers was the discharge of puddlers for breakage of machinery due to the large size of puddle balls. In 1887, the Association adopted a resolution that puddlers should work each heat into

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[11] Vulcan Record, No. 12 (1873), p. 50.

[12] Proceedings, Amalgamated Association, 1878, p. 179.

[13] The limit of a day's work of castings, which were easier to work than pig iron, was fixed at 3500 to 3700 pounds (Ibid., p. 179).

[14] Proceedings, 1884, p. 1457. Turn limits were likewise fixed for other workmen in the puddling department, such as knobblers (Proc., 1881, p. 709), and bushellers, (Proc., 1884, p. 1457, Ibid., 1901, p. 5991). Too, the weight of the charge was adjusted proportionately for larger furnaces which were introduced from time to time (See, Proc., 1887, p. 2152; Western Scales of Prices, 1903-04, p. 6; Ibid., 1916-'17, p.5; Constitution, 1903, Art. XVIII; Ibid., 1916, Art. XVIII.).

balls,[16] weighing not more than 250 pounds, in order to claim the protection of the union. If any part of the machinery were broken by putting in large balls, the puddler was subject to dismissal without recourse to the organization for redress. The matter of determining whether or not a particular breakage was due to the over-size of balls was left to the mill committees and the district deputies.

The most important problem was to enforce the rule restricting average output. The Sons of Vulcan were never able to do this successfully. The Amalgamated Association, in 1889, re-

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[15] Proceedings, 1887, p. 2000; West Scales of Prices, 1903-'04, p. 6, Ibid., 1916-'17, p. 5.

[16] Proceedings, 1887, p. 1924; National Labor Tribune, June 25, 1887, p. 4, c. 2. When the iron reaches the boiling stage, it is said to "have come to nature", somewhat analogous to the coming of butter in a churn. At this stage, the puddler works the molten metal into balls, and by means of tongs these balls are conveyed on a buggy, or more usually by a trolley, to a squeezer. The squeezer consists of a stationary rim and a revolving inner rim, containing teeth-like grooves, which operate somewhat on the principle of a coffee mill. It squeezes out much of the slag in the balls and makes elongated balls, called blooms, which in turn are passed thro the rolls and drawn out into muck bars.

quired that, altho the weight should be averaged for two weeks, the weight of each turn should be displayed on a board.[17] The next year, it was provided that the penalty for wilful violation of the legal limit would be suspension, and the publication of the names of offenders in the Quarterly report.[18] In 1901, the penalty was made either a heavy fine or expulsion. Lodges allowing this practice were fined for the first offense, and if they persisted in the practice the charter was withdrawn.[19] The charter of a local union was rarely revoked for violation of the law--tho there are instances of it[20]--and the abuse continued. The leaders of the union began to feel that the remedy lay, not in restricting the output, but in limiting the hours of the work day. So flagrant were the violations of the limit on swarth in the busheling department, that, in 1905, in accordance with the memorandum of Agreement in the scale, other manufacturers were given the same privileges, and the limit on swarth was removed.[21] The limit has been nominally retained in the puddling department, but it is no longer effective.

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[17] National Labor Tribune, July 6, 1889, p. 4.

[18] Proceedings, 1890, p. 3167.

[19] Ibid., 1901, pp. 6189-90.

[20] Ibid., 1902, p. 6411.

[21] Ibid., 1905, pp. 7234-43. The union still clung to the provision for a limit in the busheling department for several years, when it was finally abandoned.(Proc.1907, p. 8059; Proc., 1908, p. 8247.).

The manufacturers, as a rule, have not found the restriction of output of puddle furnaces irksome.[22] The scale in 1904 provided that five heats should constitute a day's work in double-turn or three-turn mills, but allowed six heats in a single-turn mill. Large mills usually employ three shifts so as to get the greatest possible production in twenty-four hours, and on three turns it is a physical impossibility to make over five heats per turn; usually only four can be made. Most employers agree that 550 pounds of pig iron is an economical charge; that it is as much as two men (a puddler and his helper) can handle to advantage and bring out the product to success. It has also been found to be an economical charge as regards waste. In case the charge is excessive the iron must remain in the furnace longer, and the longer it is in the furnace the greater is the percentage of waste.

In puddling mills where the restriction of the union has applied, the production of each furnace on double-turn mills was 30,250 pounds a week.[23] In such mills the puddlers regularly puddled that amount per week, having accidents or other

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[22] There were instances in which the union regulation was repugnant to the employer; as, for example, to Supt. Flagler, of the National Tube Works, McKeesport, Pa.; See Proceedings, 1883, p. 1168.

[23] This was calculated as follows: 550 pounds per charge x 5 heats x 11 turns per week. The union allowed but one turn on Saturday, and no Sunday work.

causes. There were no complaints that the limit of output was not reached; but in triple-turn mills five heats were impossible in puddling certain kinds of iron. In summer the puddlers sometimes made only three or four heats in a turn--occasionally only two--on account of the extreme heat. The production of non-union mills was often not more than the union scale, and in some cases even less.[24]

The Amalgamated scale placed the limit of time for each heat in a single furnace at an hour and three-quarters.[25] The time was reckoned from the moment the door of the furnace was dropped after charging until the heat was ready to draw, barring accidents and unavoidable detentions. If a majority of the furnaces required longer time, the management was notified. Inferior coal was likewise considered a grievance. This rule was not very rigidly observed.

In the finishing department limits were adopted from time to time, but without success.[26] These limits on the weight of a day's output were supplanted by a restriction as to the time. The nine-hour-and-fifteen-minute rule applies, that is, nine hours and a quarter is allowed for rolling "from the regu-

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[24] For instances, see Eleventh Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1904, pp. 243-44.

[25] The time for larger furnaces was proportionately longer. See Western Scales of Prices, 1904-05, p. 6; Ibid., 1916-17, p. 5.

[26] Proceedings, Iron and Steel Roll Hands, 1873, p. 9;

lar time the mill begins to roll" (say, five o'clock in the morning) "until the first furnace commenced to charge the last heat."[27] Rolling all that is in this last charge, however, may require another hour. The scale also provides that "on all finishing mills the last furnace shall not be charged later than one hour after the first furnace." The object of this rule is to have each shift out of the way of the shift next in turn.

B. Sheet Mill Department.

The sheet mill hands' scale provided what should be the limit of output per turn. The limit was expressed in number of bars, usually by "pairs".[28] At first the union viewed

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Proceedings, Amalgamated Association, 1880, p. 414; Ibid., 1888, p. 2290; Ibid., 1892, p. 4108.

[27] Western Scales of Prices, 1908-09, and all subsequent scales.

[28] Sheet steel is made from steel bars of varying size and thickness, according to the desired dimensions of the finished sheet. To prepare the bars for rolling they are heated in what are called "pair" furnaces, because the bars are heated in pairs. Fifteen (15) pairs, or thirty (30) bars constitute a heat, but often in practice a smaller number are heated at once. The bars are first rolled in a roughing-down mill, and then taken to a finishing mill. Sheets that will finish 24 to 28 guage are matched in threes; sheets lighter than 28 guage are matched in fours--that is, three or four sheets are rolled together. The sheet is ordinarily reduced one-half in length

with disfavor the operation of the third turn.[29] In 1885, however, sheet mills were allowed to run three turns, of eight hours each, providing "no turn shall exceed 180 pairs single, or 105 double iron, and that no single or double turn mill shall exceed 216 pairs single, or 120 pairs double iron, for a turn."[30] Subsequent scales for many years were based on the limit of 105 pairs, or 210 bars, per turn for rolling in doubling mills, with but slight modification.[31] This is on the basis of

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by doubling under a press, after which process it is reheated and rolled to the proper dimensions. The edges are then sheared to the required size. The team which operates a pair furnace and a set of rolls consists of seven men--a pair heater, a rougher, a catcher, a matcher, a heater, a roller, and a doubler. One shearman, one opener (who separates the sheets--and they do not adhere if properly rolled), and one scrap boy can generally handle the sheets that three teams can produce in three turns.

[29] Proceedings, 1880, pp. 458--59, 461.

[30] National Labor Tribune, Aug. 15, 1885, p. 4, c. 2; Pittsburgh Scale of Prices, 1887-88, p. 18.

[31] The limit for sheets over 120 inches long was, in 1889, proportionally less. (Proc., 1889, p. 2608); for sheets 25 guage and lighter, see Pittsburgh Scales of Prices, 1888-1889, p. 18; Western Scales of Prices, 1902-03, p. 29.

seven heats of 15 pairs per heat. The limits for iron and steel were identical; and a heavy penalty was attached for wilful violation of the scale.[32]

About 1900, manufacturers began to chafe under the union restrictions upon the output of its members.[33] They claimed the restriction was unjust, especially as it applied to sheets of all sizes, guages, or weights. By 1902, the union had raised the limit to nine heats, or 135 pairs, on three-turn, and ten heats, or 150 pairs, on two-turn, mills.[34] This met the requirements of mills working sheets 30 or more inches wide and 104 inches long, as no greater number of sheets of such large size could be produced in one turn of eight hours. But when smaller sheets were worked, such as 24 by 72 inches and up to 28 by 96 inches, it was often the case that the men would turn out the limit of 135 pairs in about seven hours, so that a mill would be idle an hour or more between each turn, or three or four hours in a day. Manufacturers asked that the limit be increased in order to be put on a parity with non-union mills (particularly those of the American Sheet Steel Company), in which the workmen operated the rolls practically for the full

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[32] Proceedings, 1890, p. 3167; Ibid., 1903, p. 6773.

[33] Ibid., 1900, p. 5846.

[34] Western Scales of Prices, 1902-03, p. 29, footnote. 4. By this time, the three-turn system was practically universal in sheet mills.

eight hours for each turn and in which no limit was placed on output.[35] It was pointed out also--and correctly so--that

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[35] It has been shown by employers that average earnings per day were greater in non-union mills than in union plants. Piece rates were identical in both classes of mills, and working conditions were said to be similar. The reason of the greater earnings by non-union workmen was explained by the fact that they made more heats and therefore their output was larger.

The average daily earnings as given by one employer for four months in 1902 was $2.56 in union mills, and $2.67 in non-union mills; for the same period in 1903, earnings were $2.68 in union plants and $2.76 in non-union plants. Average daily earnings were 4.3 per cent higher in non union than in union mills in the first instance; and 2.9 per cent in the second.

A non-union employer showed that in a period of seven weeks in 1903 the average number of pairs rolled per turn was 152.55, or 13 per cent over the limit set by the union. In case of narrow iron and very light guages, the number of pairs rolled per turn frequently exceeded 200. The price for rolling the lighter guages is greater than that for rolling the heavy guages, but the weight is relatively less, and consequently earnings are less.

For the actual statistics, see Eleventh Special Report of Commissioner of Labor, 1904, pp. 249-55; also, Proc., 1904, pp. 6909-14.

even in union mills the men voluntarily violated the scale limit.[36]

The chief objection made by the manufacturers has been the fact that the limitation endangered the chilled rolls. The rolls are costly,[37] and the smooth chilled surface requires careful treatment to prevent breakage and also to produce a good quality of iron. Rolls are liable to be cracked by too much pressure being put upon them, or by too sudden changes of temperature. The rolls are heated from the hot metal which passes between them, and unless the heat is regulated by the output--that is, by the number of bars passed between them--the expansion and contraction to which they are subject may cause them to break.[38] For this reason, employers contend that there should be no arbitrary limitation, and that the conditions under which the rolls should be operated ought to be left to

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[36] Proceedings, 1903, pp. 6720-21; ibid., 1904, pp. 6909ff.

[37] Rolls cost about $700 per pair. The chilled surface is about five-eights of an inch thick. Every week from a thirty-second to a sixteenth of an inch is turned off to make the surface smooth. As soon as all the chilled surface is turned off the rolls get too rough for use. When a crack develops in one of the rolls it soon spreads, and finally the pressure causes the roll to break. The average life of a pair of rolls with good treatment is 100 days.

[38] Since mills shut down Sunday, the sheets must be rolled slowly on Monday so as to warm up the cool rolls gradually.

the judgment of the foreman and the skilled workmen. If the rolls are not in proper condition, the sheets will be unevenly rolled, causing them to "buckle."

At the solicitation of the sheet manufacturers the Amalgamated Association called an "expanded sheet conference" in December, 1903, and modified the restriction of output, making it more liberal. The limit was increased from nine heats, or 135 pairs of bars, to 10 heats, or 150 pairs, to take effect January 1, 1904. The rule was modified in another respect. It was provided that the new limit was to be the average daily output during the "pay period", which is usually a fortnight. Previous to this time, no shortage for a particular day could be made up on another day. By the provision of the scale as amended, if only 135 pairs should be rolled on a certain day, 165 pairs might be rolled on another day in the same pay period to make the average 150.[39]

The rolls must have a certain heat to do good work, but the degree of heat varies with conditions. Intermissions between heats or shifts is injurious to the rolls, because of the successive cooling and heating of the chilled surface. Consequently, it is essential that the output be of sufficient amount to keep the rolls running continuously. The smaller sizes of sheets thus require a considerably larger output than do the wider sizes.

[39] Procedings, 1904, p. 6914. The next year, the number of extra pairs per turn to make up shortage was limited to 15. (Proceedings, 1905, p. 7184)

The new limit did not long meet the requirements. The members wi l fully persisted in making overweight, and the company tacitly encouraged it. A rule was adopted that all overweight or surplus earnings should be collected by the lodge, in addition to a fine for violating the scale.[40] These measures were ineffective since the sentiment of the workmen was not heartily in favor of its enforcement. Finally, in 1905, in conference with the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, the limit of output was abolished.[41] Since then, the union has resorted to a limitation of hours.

C. Tin-Plate Department.

The tin business did not begin to flourish in this country until early in the nineties. The Cleveland convention of 1894, following the precedent established by the puddlers and sheet mill hands, placed a limit on a turn's output in tin-plate mills.[42] The limit was 5000 pounds of Standard tin plates--that is, No. 30 guage plates, 20 by 56 inches.[43] The alleged reason for the restriction was the fear of excessive outputs by

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[40] Proceedings, 1905, p. 7428. The "overweight secretary", it was provided, should receive twenty-five per cent of all overweight collected.

[41] Ibid., 1906, pp. 7562, ff.

[42] Ibid., 1894, pp. 4508, 4671. All turns are eight hours,--three turns a day.

[43] In making tin plates bars of steel are heated in pair furnaces and then passed through chilled rolls until the plates

the more able-bodied workmen and a consequent reduction of wages by manufacturers. The workmen also seemed to think that by limiting the output the number of men who would be able to obtain employment would be increased.

The manufacturers soon insisted on a greater output, and the workmen proved that they were capable of greater out-

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are of the required guages. The steel plates are immersed in sulphuric acid, which removes all foreign substance, and then placed in annealing furnaces. This process toughens the plates and makes them pliable. They are then passed thro chilled rolls which give a smooth surface to the plates, annealed once more, and after a final bath in sulphuric acid they are stored in water boshes to prevent rusting until they are required in the finishing department.

In the finishing department the plates are passed thro a flux, which floats on top of the molten tin, then thro the tin, then thro palm oil, then thro rolls which remove all surplus metal from the sheets, then thro a branner which removes all oil and grease, then thro what are known as "skin rolls", which remove all dust and polish the sheets, after which they are assorted.

The bulk of tin plates manufactured are No. 30 and 31 guages.

put. Accordingly, the limit was gradually increased until in 1903, it was 6250 pounds on No. 30 guage.[44] In addition, there was a provision in the scales that the limit of output may be increased on the wider sizes of sheets.[45] This was allowed because, as the employers pointed out, the wider sizes required faster work to keep the rolls to their proper temperature and shape.

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[44] Proceedings, 1895, p. 4777; Ibid., 1904, p. 6902; Western Scales of Prices, 1902-03, p. 33-34; Ibid., 1903-1904, pp 34-35.

Limit of a Turn's Work of Eight Hours for a Crew in a Tin-Plate Mill, for Beginning and Closing Years.

Guage Number	Limit of Turn's Work :100 pounds. 1894-1895	1902-1903	1904-1905.
8 to 11		13500	14000
12 " 13		12500	13000
14 " 15		11500	12000
16 " 17		10500	11000
18 " 20		9500	10000
21 " 24		7500	8000
24	6400		
25	6000	6750	7250
26	5600	6350	6850
27	5400	6150	6650
28	4900	5650	6650
29	5100	5850	6350
30	5000	5750	6250
31	4800	5550	6050
32	4600	5350	5650
33	4400	5150	5450
34	4200		5250
34 and lighter		4950	
35			5250
36 and lighter			4950

The tin-plate scale in 1902 provided for an average of the week's work; but in making up lost weight, no more than 500 pounds could be made up in any one turn on 31 guage and heavier, and 250 pounds on all lighter guages. In case of a "drawback" the percentage excess can not be made on the same turn. This provision of an averaging of a week's output was omitted from the scales for subsequent years.

The manufacturers of tin plate found practically the same objections to the restrictive measures of the union as did the sheet mill manufacturers. They claimed that it was arbitrary, unreasonable, and unjust; that it endangered the rolls, exposed union employers to an unfair competition with non-union employers,[46] and finally that the workmen, in syaing that "the limit of human endurance" had been reached, had belied their

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[45] This provision permitted an excess of ten per cent above the limit on sizes 20½ by 56, and fifteen per cent above the limit on 26 inches wide and over. (Western Scales of Prices, 1904-05, pp. 34-35.)

[46] One non-union employer showed statistically that for a period of six months in 1902 the average weight per turn in union mills was 5756 pounds; in non-union mills, 6431 pounds; a difference of 11.7 per cent. The scale limit was modified. The first four months after its alteration, the average weight per turn in union mills was 6193 pounds; in non-union mills, 6480 pounds, a difference of only 4.6 per cent. See tables of

statements by demonstrating the contrary regularly. Attempts to penalize members for violations of the limit proved futile;[47] so the limit of output was removed by the union in 1905, simultaneously with the abolition of sheet mill restrictions. The union has since maintained a limitation on hours.

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figures, Eleventh Annual Report of Commissioner of Labor, 1904, pp. 260-61.

[47] Proceedings, 1897, p. 5199; Proc., 1899, p. 5594; ibid., 1900, pp. 5792-94; ibid., 1906, pp. 7564 ff.

CHAPTER IX

MACHINERY..

The problem of machinery is a by-product of the industrial regimé. Complex conditions incident to the introduction of machinery have been, in the main, responsible for divergence of opinion upon the economic question of wealth distribution. Because of this attendant complexity, many suspect in labor-saving devices some malign influence, while the more discerning eye sess that any means which enhances the productiveness of labor must afford a permanent benefit to mankind. That the latter position is the more nearly correct one, economists of the present generation are agreed. However, the opinion that machinery had not benefitted the laboring classes has the weight of venerable authority. "Hitherto it is questionable"--wrote John Stuart Mill in 1848--"if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being. They have enabled a greater population to live the same life of drudgery and imprisonment, and an increased number of manufacturers and others to make fortunes. They have increased the comforts of the middle classes. But they have not yet begun to effect those great changes in human destiny, which it is in their nature and in their futurity to accomplish."[1] Herein lies a partial explanation of the instinc-

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[1] Mill, Principles of Political Economy, Book IV, Chap. VI: (London, 1869), p. 455. It must also be added--not to ab-

tive hatred of workmen in early days for machinery. Happily, an improvement in the conditions under which machinery is operated has, since the time Mill wrote, caused a gradual change in the attitude of workmen--the result of the indispensable factors of education and organization.

As to the material advantages of machinery there can be no question of dispute. By increased production to an enormous extent, the machine has enlarged the social income and multiplied opportunities. The future possibilities of the utilization of labor-saving devices to increase production are legion. It is the means which alone can raise wages, reduce the length of the working day, and increase the purchasing power of money--a three-fold gain.

The hardship, if not actual injury, occasioned by the introduction of machinery is due to the immediate and proximate effects of its substitution for labor. "The evil varies with the suddenness and extensiveness of the change on the one hand, and the extension of the market and the mobility of labor

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stract this quotation from its connection--that Mill held that the laborer's lot could have been improved if the increase of population had been retarded; and that the constant growth of population destroyed the gains which improvements afforded the laboring classes. See, also, edition of Mill's Political Economy with notes by Professor Laughlin, (New York, 1884), p. 517.

on the other".[2] The old relations between the workmen and the employer are suddenly thrown out of gear, if not distorted; there is a displacement of skill, frequently unskilled labor being substituted for skilled; and the changed conditions of labor tend to degrade the workmen physically, intellectually, and morally. The usual rejoinder to these arguments is to lay stress on the fact that the displacement of labor is but temporary, and to assure workmen that eventually machinery will increase the number employed;[2a] also, that workmen as consumers reap the benefit of lower prices of commodities due to cheapened production, and this fall of price constitutes a rise of real wages. The validity of the answer must depend upon the meaning attached to the word "temporary". It is small comfort to a workman who wakes up some morning to find his job suddenly changed into a myth to be assured that in a year's time he will have plenty of work, if in the meantime he must remain breadless; or that he will not have to pay so high a price for commodities, if he has no money to buy at whatever price. It is clear that "temporary" must be interpreted in the light of the general position of the laborer. True, if he has accumulated a little money, he may emigrate; if he is intelligent, he may discover that there is work for him in another section of the country; but supposing he

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[2] J.S. Nicholson, The Effects of Machinery on Wages". (London, 1892), pp. 122-23.

[2a] Pigou, A.C. , (Wealth and Welfare, pp. 85-86) quotes M. Levasseur (in "Salariat et Salaires", p. 421,) in words to this effect.

has neither funds nor friends, and his knowledge is encompassed within the few square miles of his immediate neighborhood, and his outlook for the future is a vista of misery and starvation, then, to such an one the introduction of machinery is an evil, and to him it seems a curse. It is indeed regrettable that even the so-called temporary disadvantages of industrial progress should fall heavily upon certain members of society to the advantage of others, but it is of course unavoidable. The evil can be somewhat mitigated, however, if captains of industry[3] could be impressed with the moral necessity of introducing new inventions gradually and continuously, that is, by small increments, so as to give greatest benefit with least possible injury.

The opinion of the modern trade unionists, being men with the usual abilities, does not materially differ from there views. Experience and a close study of labor problems have served to reconcile them to the introduction of machinery. They realize that any arbitrary limitation of work is not only impolitic, but that by increasing the productiveness of labor is the opportunity afforded them to insist upon a fair share in the larger product. Thro organized labor, they aim to prevent the displacement of union men, and to gain a share of the benefits derived from the use of improved methods, either in decreased

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[3] In the impassioned words of Carlyle, "the leaders of industry, if industry is ever to be led, are virtually the captains of the world; if there be no nobleness in them, there will never be an aristocracy more.....This is not playhouse poetry; it is sober fact".--Carlyle, Past and Present, Collected Works (London, 1870), p. 335.

hours or in increased wages. Union leaders affirm that the workmen should profit directly as a producer as well as a consumer, and that they should be regarded as something more than a machine tender--an incident in production.[4] Such is the attitude of the Iron and Steel Workers, as voiced by their president, John Williams. He says: "The Amalgamated Association stands for progress. We hail with delight any invention that will lessen manual labor, particularly the drudgery of the rolling mill. When machinery is introduced, we believe the scale should be revised. It is so stipulated in our agreements with manufacturers.[5] Inasmuch as production is increased, we agree that the manufacturer should get an advance, but not all the advance;

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[4] The trade unionist holds that the machine is, in a sense, not only the property of the man who buys it, but also of the man who operates it. Consequently, the right to use the machine "should be paid for, just as the inventor is paid in the form of a royalty," and the introduction of improved machinery should be "upon what may be likened to a cooperative system, and the machine should not be used to make the profits of the employee less." John Mitchell, sometime President of United Mine Workers, "Organized Labor", p. 251.

[5] The agreement reads as follows: "Whereas, it has been the custom, for years, of the Amalgamated Association to recognize the advantage of arranging scales and working conditions suitable with improvement of machinery and method of operation, and there has not been a full record made of such practice, it

and, in case the work of the men is actually lessened, we consent to a reduction in the wages of the men. Too, the men should get a share of the improved machinery, the amount to be determined on a common sense basis. Some of the men will work on the machines; those who are displaced will have to find other jobs. These men are protected in that we hold to the principle of a fair, living wage in any and every kind of employment." [6]

Probably no industry in the entire country has been subject to such continual change and constant development directly and indirectly resulting from new inventions and the introduction of improved processes and labor-saving machinery as has the iron and steel industry. The predominant feature of the industry has been its growth from small individual establishments to big business units. The large corporation has supplanted the small entrepreneur, and production is on an enormorously large scale. The

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is hereby recorded : 'That when improved machinery and method of operation are introduced into any mills, thus increasing the output and reducing the work of the men, there shall be a readjustment of the scale governing such work'."--Original agreement with the Republic Iron and Steel Company, signed in conference July 24, 1916.

[6] Interview with the writer, October 4, 1916.

magic of invention and machinery has manifoldly increased the capacity of steel plants, and capital has flowed into the industry in large quantities. Improved methods of iron manufacture have lagged far behind those of steel, but even these have been considerable. It would require too much space to trace the effects of all such innovations upon members of the union; but by means of sampling, the most important of these will be discussed, and the attitude of the union toward them analyzed.

The most notable inventions affecting the industry, perhaps, have been the "Bessemer" and "Open Hearth" processes for manufacturing steel. Not until the late fifties--about the time the puddlers' union was organized--did Sir Henry Bessemer finally succeed in producing malleable steel from cast iron. In 1865, the new process was introduced in this country.[7] Production increased to an enormous extent. Many improvements followed, particularly in the manufacture of steel rails.[8] Many workmen were thrown out of work by these new inventions and appliances.[9]

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[7] The first Bessemer steel rails made in the United States were rolled at the North Chicago rolling-mill on May 24, 1865; but not until 1867 was there any quantity made to order. From 2550 net tons in 1867, the production increased to 1,438,155 net tons--the highest point--in 1882. (Geo. E. McNeil, The Labor Movement, [1887], p. 308). See also the account given in the National Labor Tribune, Dec. 16, 1882, p. 4, c. 3. Production in certain plants, it was stated, increased from 900 to 10000 tons per month. Also, a great economy in fuel was effected;

The vast displacement of manual labor completely changed the relations between employers and employees; and to this is due, in large measure, the failure of strikes in the large Bessemer works, and in certain localities--particularly in the East--the complete subjugation of labor to the dictum of employers.

The actual amount of displacement occasioned by the new appliances varied with the size of the plant and the extent of the improvements made. In some cases, the number of workmen thrown out of employment was large. For example, in 1885, improved machinery was installed in the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, Braddock, Pennsylvania. The company immediately decided to run double turn, of twelve hours each, instead of the three eight-hour shifts. On the heating furnaces, at which 23 men per turn, or 69 men on the three turns, were formerly employed, 6 men per turn or 12 men on double turn were required--a displacement of 57 men on the furnaces. On the rail mill train, 21 men were required for each turn, or 63 men for the three turns; to operate

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no extra expenditure of fuel, except that which was in the fluid metal coming from the blast furnace, was required. Today, it might be added, the ingots can be rolled into finished bars without any more fuel.

[8] For examples, see Proceedings, 1889, p. 2736; National Labor Tribune, Nov. 9, 1889, p. 4, c. 1; Ibid., 1896, p. 5091; ibid., 1899, p. 5629; ibid., 1901, pp. 7014, 7027-28.

[9] Proceedings, 1885, p. 1563.

the improved train, only six men per turn, or 12 men in all, were necessary--thus displacing 51 men on the rail train. By putting the blooming and nail mills on double turn, there was a labor-saving of 62 chargers, helpers, and other workmen. Consequently, in the blooming and nail mills alone, there was a displacement of 170 men. By introducing the two-turn system in the converting and blast furnace departments, it was estimated, practically 300 men were obliged to find employment elsewhere.[10]

The effect of the improved methods of operation was not only a reduction of the number employed but also a change in the piece rates of those workmen who were retained. Since uniform scales for steel mills were obviously impracticable,[11] special agreements were drawn up for individual plants.[12] The problem of machinery was likewise a disturbing feature of the annual conference between the union and the employers' association.[13]

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[10] National Labor Tribune, Feb. 7, 1885, p. 4, c. 1. For the reduction of wages occasioned, see National Labor Tribune, Feb. 14, 1885, p. 4, c. 2. For a description of this mammoth automatic rail train, see National Labor Tribune, Oct. 13, 1888, p. 4, c. 3. The immediate effect of the new machinery was the dissolution of two local unions at Braddock. (National Labor Tribune, Mar. 14, 1885).

For other instances of great displacement of skill due to the introduction of machinery, e.g., in the manufacture of iron and steel bolts, nuts, rivets, washers, chains, forgings, also wrought iron pipe, see Thirteenth Report of the United States

Steel operators generally employed the twelve-hour turn. Wages were reduced in practically every instance, sometimes as much as one-third.[14] The national union consented to local scales being signed for specialty plants even at reduced rates, provided it was clearly shown "that the work of the men was decreased" by the new piece of mechanism.[15] Frequently, this provision was inserted in the local agreement. For example, in the signed contract between the workmen and the Illinois Steel Company, there was a clause pledging the men, in case the plant was improved in any way, "to assist in developing such improvement and abide by whatever modification such improvement may permit in the rates and number of men."[16]

Commissioner of Labor, (1898), Volume I, pp. 291--96.

11 See chapter on the Standard Rate, pp. 172-73, 180.

12 Scales of Prices governing wages in Rolling Mills, making Steel by Bessemer, Open Hearth, et al., Processes, 1888-89, and subsequent scales. See also Proceedings, 1899, p.5629.

13 National Labor Tribune, April 14, 1888, p. 2, c.2. Editorial comment accentuated the point at issue. The Iron Age, the official organ of the manufacturers, alleged that the union laid claim to every new device projected "either by reason of improved processes, machinery or materials" (Quoted in the National Labor Tribune, May 2, 1885, p. 4, c. 2); the Association, thro the editor of its paper, thus complained: "There should be an end somewhere to labor standing the brunt of cheapened production" (Ibid., Apr. 14, 1888, p. 1, c. 1.).

14 Proceedings, 1889, p. 2736. 15 Ibid., 1899, p. 5629.

One of the bitterest struggles for control of a single machine in a trade was occasioned in the eighties by the introduction of an automatic nail-making machine. This new device for cutting nails displaced many nailers and nail-feeders, in the nailing trade.[17] The capacity of the machine was prodigiously large. At fifty revolutions per minute, the machine turned out 800 eight-penny casing nails. This meant 48000 nails, or 330 pounds, per hour. The simplicity of the new machine made it possible for one man to run at least six machines.[18] The nailer's skill was no longer an important factor in production; and to this is largely due the bitter feeling of the nailers against the nail feeders who frequently got the nailing jobs by wage-cutting.

The policy of the union was to attempt to limit the number of machines which one man might operate. At first, it was enacted that four machines should constitute "one job", and members of the union were not permitted to hold more than one job.[18a] The provision, however, could not be enforced. In the first place, nail mills could not be effectively organized. Because of excessive production in this one trade, mills were idle half-time. The men had no interest in an organization that could be of little benefit to them. Again, there were too many men competing for the decreased number of jobs. Nail feeders were equally as capable to run the machine as the skilled nailers. Consequently, the employers were able to drive

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[16] Proceedings, 1891, p. 3412. For an instance of such adjustment with the Illinois Steel Co., see Proc., 1901, pp.7027-7029.

[17] The first invention was a self-feeding device, known

a bargain with the union; if not, they began to run non-union. By 1889, Secretary Martin pointed out that nailers got little, if any, more for operating eight machines than they did with four previously.[19] There were instance of employers demanding that the men work ten machines.[20]

Varied and numerous were the mechanical improvements which invention and discovery made possible in the puddling

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as the Haddock self-feeding machine. (Proceedings, 1880, pp. 347, 407). The new appliance displaced the nail-feeders, as one man could tend to more than one machine. Nailers were not permitted to put on a self-feeder nail machine, as it was deemed "injurious to the trade of the nail feeders" (Proc., 1882, p. 973). Employers demanded that nailers look after the machine for one-half the price of nailing, the firm to retain the other half and pay the feeder. (Proc., 1880, p. 407; Proc., 1883, p. 1093).

[18] National Labor Tribune, Jan. 28, 1888, p. 4, c. 1. The machine, it was said, cost $600. They were introduced in large numbers.

[18a] Constitution, 1884, Art. XVIII, Sec. 5.

[19] Proceedings, 1889, pp. 2690-91.

[20] National Labor Tribune, Feb. 9, 1889. For a similar instance of one man operating an excessive number of bolt machines, see National Labor Tribune, Mar. 29, 1890, p. 4, c. 2.

and finishing divisions. Improved furnaces made the work of the puddler somewhat less laborious, and also increased the output.[21] Continuous rolls, with new feeding devices;[22] new machinery for blooming mills, having "all the levers that operate the screw, the rollers and the manipulators in one place"--thus making it possible for the roller to operate all these levers with ease;[23] automatic shears, and patent feeders;[24] three-high rolls on sheet bar mills;[25] improved hoop mills;[26] automatic straightening beds;[27] patents in tinning processes;[28] these are a few of the many innovations that may briefly be cited.

The union policy of dealing with these various devices was essentially the same. Two methods were employed. First, there was a revision in the scale at the next conference of employer and employed, and a new piece rate agreed upon. Where it was clearly shown that the labor of the workmen was actually

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[21] For instances, see Vulcan Record, No. 10 (1872), p. 52; Proceedings, 1878, p. 172; Nat'l Labor Tribune, Mar. 4, 1882, p.4, c. 3; Western Scales of Prices, 1916-17, p. 5.

[22] E.g., Proc., 1880, p. 414; Nat'l Labor Tribune, Mar. 21, 1885, p. 4, c. 1; Ibid., 1892, p. 3897.

[23] Proceedings, 1891, pp. 3504-05.

[24] Ibid., 1892, p. 3899; Ibid., 1900, p. 3963; Ibid., 1910, p. 8810.

[25] Ibid., 1893, p. 4329.

[26] Ibid., 1895, p. 4762.

[27] Ibid., 1900, p. 5850; Ibid., 1912, p. 9760.

[28] Ibid., 1894, p. 4550; Ibid., 1903, p. 6718.

lessened, the union accepted a reduction in the rate. If men were temporarily displaced, they were obliged to seek employment elsewhere. In the second place, the union defined what should constitute a "job" for one workman; and no member was permitted to hold more than one job. For example, in 1884, the constitution stated: "One furnace single turn, one train of rolls, double turn, four nail machines, one steel gas smelting furnace both turns, or two steel gas smelting furnaces single turn" shall "constitute one job. Also, one steel smelting gas furnace with a capacity of 24 crucibles shall constitute one job for one Teemer, two Pullerouts, and two Molders, and no Puller-out or Molder shall be required to fill more than six pots to each heat, and three heats shall be a day's work at all times."[29] Any workman holding "two or more jobs" was pronounced to be a "blacksheep", and union men might refuse to work with him.[30] In 1890, it was provided that no member might work two or more consecutive turns at a job in a mill when other competent members in the immediate vicinity were suffering an enforced idleness. This one-job provision has been modified from time to time; but, in its amended form, it is valid today.[31]

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29 Constitution, 1884, Art. XVIII, Sec. 5.

30 National Labor Tribune, June 25, 1887, p. 4, c. 3; Constitution, 1887, Art. XVIII, Sec. 14; Const., 1916, Art. XVII, sec. 8. By "two or more jobs" is meant "where one man draws pay for two or more separate jobs at the same time". (Const., 1888, Art. XVIII, sec. 14.).

31 Constitution, 1885, Art. XVIII, sec. 5 (certain parts eliminated); Ibid., 1891, Art. XVIII, sec. 14; Ibid., 1911, Art. XVII, sec. 7 ("on finishing mills, one pair of shears one turn", was added); Const., 1916, Art. XVII, sec. 8.

CHAPTER X

APPRENTICESHIP AND THE HELPER SYSTEM

The Iron and Steel Workers, unlike many trade unions,[1] have never attempted a general system of apprenticeship. Certain apprentice regulations have from time to time been suggested, for various branches of the industry.[2] but they have not met with favor in the annual conventions, except in the case of the nailers. In 1881, it was provided that "no nailor shall be allowed to take on an apprentice without the consent of three-fourths of the nailors in the factory in which they are employed", and the number of apprentices that might be taken on was fixed at "two per cent of the machines per annum".[3] The following year, the convention enacted that a nailer having a son eighteen years old might teach him the nailing trade, but he was not allowed to instruct more than one son in three years. Furthermore, a nailer having a son who had reached the age of fifteen was not permitted to teach any other person.[4] The employer, in case the workmen did not take on the required number of apprentices, had the right to do so, if he desired, up to the two-per cent limit. This ruling, however, caused considerable

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[1] Motley, J.M. Apprenticeship in American Trade Unions, pp. 59-60.

[2] See Vulcan Record, No. 6 (1870), p. 20; Proceedings, Iron and Steel Roll Hands, 1873, p. 8; Ibid., Amalgamated Assoc. 1890, p. 3134, for wire drawers, Proc., 1900, p. 5930, for tin plate mills; Proc., 1902, p. 6471; Ibid., 1909, p. 8715; Ibid.,

friction,[5] and was responsible, in part, for the secession of the nailers several years later. Thereafter, the Association has judiciously avoided any national apprenticeship regulations for any brahch of trade.

Where rules for apprenticeship were needed, the matter was dealt with locally. There have been several instances in which local unions have legislated in this ragard. For example, Forward Lodge (No. 121), of New Castle, Pa., composed of wire drawers who were employed in the nail factory, in 1890, had local regulations governing apprentices, and introduced a resolution in the convention of that year providing an elaborate system of national control over apprentice wire drawers.[6] Henry Cort Lodge (No. 81), composed of roll turners of the several shops in Pittsburgh, required three years' apprenticeship to become a journeyman roll turner.[7] To what extent such provisions were made by local unions can not be determined from the scant references which have been recorded.

1916, p. 11825.

[3] Proceedings, 1881, p. 709.

[4] Ibid., 1882, p. 972.

[5] Ibid., 1885, p. 1556.

[6] Ibid., 1890, p. 3134.

[7] Ibid., 1891, pp. 3510-11.

The Helper System.

Whereas an apprentice system would be impracticable in the iron and steel industry, in which many grades of workmen are employed, the Association has always favored the employment and promotion of "helpers". A "helper" has been defined by one writer as "any person employed to help the skilled journeyman---under whose wupervision he works", as distinguished from an apprentice "who, by promise, indenture, or covenant, for a specified time, is being taught the trade by a master of the trade or someone in his employ".[8] For example, in the puddling department, a puddler usually has a helper, sometimes two helpers.[9] They are employed to assist the puddler in his work, and are directly under his supervision. The helper proper gives the journeyman a spell. He takes hold of the paddle when cinder is put in to "thicken it up", that is, to make the flux.[10] The second helper--commonly knonw as a "third hand", or "green hand"--generally breaks down the pig when it begins to melt chocolate-like. He gives a "push" or a "shove" in drawing the heat, and does similar work that requires little knowledge or skill. The work of each "underhand" is so clearly understood by custom, that it is usually unnecessary to have specific rules defining it. Where the work of a helper is made definite, it is done to

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[8] Ashworth, J.H. The Helper and American Trade Unions, pp. 22-23; for union definition of "underhands", see Proc., 1877, p.50.

[9] A puddler, if he can do the work alone, need not take on a helper, unless the company can show that he is retarding the output unduly.

[10] Personal visit to Lockhart Iron and Steel Works,

prevent misunderstandings.[11] The union encourages the promotion of helpers in regular order according to seniority, provided the workman next in line of promotion is able to handle the work.[12] The advancement of helpers, however, is for the most part left to the employers. There is little or no complaint heard,[13] since helpers are advanced automaticlly, as vacancies occur.[14] No helper can be employed who is under sixteen years of age.[15]

McKees Rocks, Pa., with Vice President Ben Jones, of the Amalgamated Association.

[11] See Proceedings, 1890, p. 2974,--the work of the melter's helpers is outlined.

[12] In earlier times, however, the union placed certain restrictions upon the promotion of helpers. In 1870, the puddlers considered a proposition, fixing term of service during which a workman should have full charge of a furnace, as a prerequisite for admission to membership. (Vulcan Record, No. 6 (1870), p. 20). Two years later, it was enacted that "the qualifications for all helpers seeking promotion or advancement in our craft, shall consist in the applicant having a good moral character, and efficiency as a helper". It was further provided that any puddler allowing his helper "to ball heats", without the consent of the mill committee, should be fined or expelled (Vulcan Record, No. 10, 1872, p. 43). As late as 1881, a resolution was discussed requiring each puddler's helper to "help one year and be six months a member of the Association before he be allowed the privilege of boiling a heat." But the motion was lost. (Proc.,

The development of the helper system among the Iron and Steel Workers has been marked, in general, by two problems:

1881, p. 682.).

The policy of the union with reference to the promotion of its members, as stated by the secretary-treasurer, is as follows: "The ranks of skilled workmen are filled by men who fill the minor positions; hence, we endeavor to prevent men from learning the skilled positions before they have served in the minor ones. If they are permitted to learn the skilled jobs, it would necessarily mean that those holding the minor positions would have no opportunity for improvement". (Report of Industrial Commission, 1901, p. 214).

The line of promotion in the bar and guide mills is as follows: roller, catcher, rougher-down, rougher-up, hooker-down, hooker-up, straightener, and finisher. In the guide mill, the workman analogous to the hooker is called a "stranner"; otherwise, the seniority ruling is identical. Frequently, a roller does not employ a finisher, but does that part of the work himself. (Interview of writer with Vice-President B. F. Jones).

[13] In fact, the puddling department, in the words of Vice President Jones, "needs more helpers, and an infusion of young blood; the old puddler is dying out" (Personal interview).

[14] In addition to the regular helpers, the union frequently demands that extra help be furnished in case of heavy work. See Chapter on "The Standard Rate", pp. 193-195, and notes. See, Proc., 1887, p. 2073; ibid., 1892, pp. 3973, 3977.

(a) the organization of the helper, and (b) the hiring and paying of the helper. The policies of the union and the issues that arose in connection therewith will be discussed in the present chapter.

A. The Organization of the Helper.

The early unions in the iron industry excluded unskilled and semi-skilled workmen from their organizations on the ground that the welfare of the trade demanded it.[16] The Amalgamated Association changed this policy, and made helpers eligible to membership in the union.[17] The term 'helper' was defined as "the underhand or the assistant of all the trades named" in the constitution.[18] The change of policy was due, principally, to two causes. In the first place, the journeymen were unable to control the helpers as long as they were unorganized or organized in separate unions. The common interests of mechanics and helpers became more clearly recognized. The first of these reasons for organizing the helper was the most potent factor in persuading artisans to admit helpers into the organization. Experience had taught the journeymen that it was difficult, if not impossible to control the mills, if their helpers were unorganized or organized independently.

The Sons of Vulcan, in 1867, suggested "the propriety of organizing a helper's union, subordinate to the local forge", and

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[15] Since 1880 up until recent years, the age at which a helper might be employed has been fifteen (Proc., 1880, p. 469), altho repeated efforts were made to increase it to eighteen. (For instances, see National Labor Tribune, June 25, 1887, p. 4, c.3;

that the helpers should "meet separately" and "be superintended by at least three members of the sub-forge, who shall be called superintendent, president, and vice-president".[19] It was proposed that the helpers be assessed for strike purposes one-half as much as puddlers, and receive relief in like ratio. Whether any such local unions of helpers were instituted, there is no record.[20] But, in 1871, the puddlers' helpers of New Albany, Ind., were on strike, and voluntary strike relief was collected for

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Proceedings, 1908, p. 8377). In 1913, the limit was fixed at sixteen years (Proc., 1913, p. 10133); this applied only to helpers working "at boiling, puddling, and heating furnaces". Two years later, the rule was made applicable to all departments. (Proc., 1915, p. 11289; Const., 1916, Art. XVII, Sec. 2, p. 50).

[16] See minutes of Heaters' Convention, 1874; Proc., Iron and Steel Roll Hands, 1874, p. 20; Vulcan Record, No. 10 (1872), p. 23; ibid., No. 16 (1875), pp. 42, 44.

[17] Constitution, 1876, Art. I, sec. 1.

[18] Proceedings, 1877, p. 50.

[19] Vulcan Record, No. 1, (1867), pp. 10, 11, 18.

[20] It is doubtful, for in 1872, the president (Hugh McLaughlin) called the attention of the delegates in convention to "the necessity of having the helpers organized", so as to assist each other in case of strikes. (Vulcan Record No. 10, (1872) p. 23).

their support, amounting to $149. The men, in a letter of appreciation to President Hugh McLaughlin, expressed a desire "to be in some shape connected with the (puddlers') organization."[21] The fact that puddlers' helpers held meetings, declared strikes, and solicited strike benefits indicates the existence of at least a desultory local organization. Again, in 1873, the puddlers' helpers in Chicago called a strike contrary to the wishes of the puddlers. The president of the Puddlers' Union, in his report to the convention, intimates that these helpers had an independent local organization.[22]

Not only were helpers liable to go on strike contrary to the will and interest of journeymen or "fore hand" puddlers, but sometimes they acted as strike-breakers and increased the number of non-union mills. When the puddlers had trouble with employers, the helpers did not always go out on strike with them. The reason usually given for failing to cooperate was that the helpers had no organization and were not assured of strike benefits. The president of the Sons of Vulcan urged that helpers be admitted to the union, in order to secure their support. As a substitute measure, the plan of half-assessment and proportional strike benefits for the support of helpers on strike was adopted.[23] In Chicago, the helpers refused to accept any alternative, and formed an association of their own. Later, when a new workman was employed contrary to the wishes of the helpers, they went on strike. The puddlers continued to work,

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[21] Vulcan Record, No. 9 (Dec., 1871), pp. 18-19.

[22] Ibid., No. 12 (1873), pp. 11-12.

[23] Ibid., No. 10 (1872), p. 48.

and the striking helpers went to Knightsville, Ind., and, by taking the places of boilers who were then on strike, helped to defeat the boilers in their contest against the employer.[24] Such action made it difficult for the journeyman puddlers to control the shops in that trade.

It is a significant fact that, not until other expedients to control the helpers had failed, did the Amalgamated Association adopt the policy of admitting them as members. In 1876, the more advanced helpers were admitted into the union,[25] but not until 1889 did the union open its doors to all men working in and about iron and steel mills. At that time, the Knights of Labor were making inroads upon the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated, initiating in droves all classes who sought admittance, including common laborers.[26] The association, in order to meet this competition and to avoid trouble in the future, legislated so as to have complete control of all men working in and around mills. The present policy is to prevent as far as possible any discrimination of the more highly skilled workmen against the unskilled; or common, laborers.

A less important motive for organizing helpers was a growing consciousness of the common interest of all classes of

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[24] Vulcan Record, No. 12, (1873), pp. 10, 11, 12.

[25] Above, p. 266, 267-268. For a time these helpers suffered discrimination. (See, Proc., 1877, p. 50).

[26] See Chapter on Jurisdiction, pp. 79-82 and note.

workmen. If a journeyman lacked any of his assistants, his work was hampered. He must either do all the work himself or combine with other crews. In either event, earnings were greatly reduced. On the other hand, if journeymen were kept from work, their helpers were left unemployed. This intimate relationship and mutual dependence has, doubtless, served to turn sentiment in favor of democratic organization. Union leaders have occasionally emphasized this point.[27]

B. Employment and Payment of the Helper.

The problems involved in the hiring and compensation of helpers have been, in the main, two: (1) who shall hire and pay them, and (2) how much shall they be paid and how shall uniformity be maintained in the wages of helpers doing similar work.

As pointed out in a previous chapter,[28] it was customary in the early history of the iron industry in this country that the puddler and the roller be responsible for the work in their respective departments. They hired and paid their assistants. This practice was accepted by iron workers generally. With the introduction of the manufacture of steel, sheet iron, and tin-plate, the same plan of employing helpers was adopted,[29] and the system was established throughout the industry.[30]

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[27] Proceedings, 1887, p. 1953.

[28] See Chapter on The Standard Rate, p.193.

[29] The hiring of "green hands" was, in 1900, subject to the approval of the mill committee. (Proceedings, 1900, p.5873.)

[30] The nature of the iron and steel industry is such as

Within recent years, it has been the policy of the union to have all helpers paid from the offices of the firm. This method has two advantages. Obviously, it is more convenient, and it is immaterial to the firm whether the whole amount be paid to the heads of the various crews or to the individual workmen. In the second place, this system of payment by the employer is conducive to an uniform wage rate for helpers doing the same grade of work. The helpers may or may not abide by the union scale.[31] Since a roller or a puddler is obliged to have help,[32] the terms which a helper is likely to make with his contractor will be determined by the common law of supply and demand. With so many employers, competition is sure to produce non-uniformity in the wages of helpers. This breach of union regulation can not easily be detected, since the wage agreement is known only to the journeyman and the helper. When the helper is paid by the

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to require a certain number of helpers, and at the same time make it difficult for helpers to encroach upon the work of the journeymen. For this reason, the helper system is practicable, and helpers are naturally considered the rightful learners of the trade. For a contrast of the system as employed in the iron molding industry, see Ashworth, J.H., above, pp. 72-73. --

[31] In the case of the early puddlers, who did not admit helpers into their union, the helpers did not feel bound to abide by the union scale for their wage rate.

[32] In 1904, it was provided that "all rullers, doublers, and heaters", in tin and black plate mills, were "required to employ helpers at all times", under penalty of fine, suspension,

firm, it is difficult to evade the law. The rate of pay for helpers is printed in the wage scale, and it can be violated only by rebate to the head of the crew or by extra wages paid to the helper.

While the policy of the union has been to favor the payment of helpers by the firm, it has never favored the hiring of the helpers by the firm. In 1899, the convention adopted the following clause, which was afterward inserted in the constitution: "All men are to have the privilege of hiring their own helpers without dictation from the mangement."[33] The union justifies its position on the ground that each journeyman is closely associated with his helpers, and is held responsible for the work turned out by his crew; consequently, it is advisable that the head of a crew have the privilege of selecting his own assistants. Again, since the output of the journeymen, and accordingly their earnings depend upon the efficiency of the help employed, the hiring of the help by the journeyman shifts the responsibility from the employer to the "catain" of the crew.[34]

The chief concern of the Amalgamated Association in connection with the employment and payment of helpers has been, not who shall hire and pay them, but how much shall be paid them and how shall uniformity in their wages be secured. The puddlers,

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or expulsion . (Proceedings, 1904, p. 7104).

[34] For a dispute between a boiler and his employer, because of unsatisfactory help furnished by employer, see Proc. 1889, p. 1170.

[33] Proceedings, 1899, p. 5684; see also, Proc., 1907, p. 8060; Constitution, 1916, Art. XVII, sec. 21, (p. 53.)

as early as 1870, considered the subject of uniform wage rates for helpers, and a petition was submitted to limit the amount which should be paid a helper at "one-third", and in case of two helpers, "one-half of what the furnace makes". The convention, upon recommendation of the committee to which the resolution was referred, expressed itself in favor of the proposition, and, thro its committee, spoke of it as, "one long desired",--- "but"--the report continued--"to make it uniform thro the action of this national forge would be impracticable," since all localities were not " a unit upon the subject".[35] The matter was referred to the subordinate unions for local treatment.

The following year, the deputies were authorized to call general meetings of "for hand" boilers, or puddlers, with a view to establishing the "one-third rule" of paying help.[36] No definite action was taken, however, and the subject was brought up at all subsequent conventions of the National Forge.[37]

Gradually the "one third and five per cent" rule for the payment of puddlers' helpers was adopted in the various districts, and, in 1891, it was enacted as a national provision.[38] A number of local unions, particularly in the sixth, or western, district, protested, on the ground that it reduced the wages of

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[35] Vulcan Record, No. 6, (1870) p. 20.

[36] Ibid., No. 8, (1871), p.23.

[37] Ibid., No. 10 (1872), p. 43; Ibid., No. 16 (1875), pp. 44, 58, 62.

[38] Proceedings, 1891, pp. 3274-5, 3279.

boilers "seven and one-half percent", but the convention refused to reconsider the matter.[39] Uniform wage rates for helpers in all departments have from time to time been established.[40] In sheet and tin mills, they were paid a specified rate per turn, and, until 1905, the limit of a turn's work was fixed.[41] Since then, they have been paid a piece rate.[42] In nail factories, helpers were sometimes paid a fixed rate per heat.[43] At present, heaters' helpers on jobbing mills receive thirty-five per cent of heaters' wages;[44] on sheet mills, forty per cent.[45] These rates are understood to be a minimum price. The helper may receive more than this if he can secure it from his employer. Very often, particularly in the boiling department, the journeyman and his helper work "level-handed", and divide the earnings equally. The constitution provides that "no member shall be permitted to discharge a helper, except for just cause," nor "reduce the wages of a helper during the scale year."[46]

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[39] Proceedings, 1891, pp. 3325-26. This enactment caused ill feeling among puddlers in the west (i.e., the vicinity of Chicago), and there was talk of secession. The Advisory Board, in order to maintain harmony, construed the law to mean "one-third and five percent on the net earnings of the boilers" rather than "on the whole output of the boiling furnace" (Proc., 1892, pp. 3849, 3857, 3952, 3984). For example, suppose the output of the furnace for two weeks amounted to $120.00; the helper would get one-third of $120.00 or $40.00, plus five per cent of $80.00 (not $120.00), or $4.00, making a total of $44.00 --his share of the two week's piece-wage.

[40] For similar instances, see Proceedings, 1900, pp. 5833,

A minor question that has caused considerable discussion in the conventions of the union has been--in the vernacular of the workmen--"the practice of learning green hands". In 1877, attention was first called to this evil. The objections to this practice were: (1) more men were drawn into the trade than the trade could absorb; and (2) it was an incentive for employers to reduce wages.[47] The convention of 1878 passed a law forbidding members from giving instructions to "green hands";[48] but a mechanic was permitted "to learn his sons and brothers".[49] By a "green hand" was meant any person who had not worked at any of the trades under the jurisdiction of the union, and consequently

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5843, 5849; Ibid., 1904, pp. 6883, 7104.

[41] Ibid., 1901, pp. 6016, 6023.

[42] Ibid., 1909, p. 8479.

[43] Ibid., 1902, p. 6416.

[44] Proceedings, 1913, p. 10135; Constitution, 1916, Art. XIX, sec. 3. In case the heater is compelled to pay an annealer, the helper receives thirty-five percent of the remainder, after the annealer has been paid.

[45] Ibid., 1914, p. 10398; Western Scales of Prices, 1916, p. 43.

[46] Constitution, 1916, Art. XVII, sec. 21, (pp. 53-54);--See also Proc., 1899, p. 5620.

[47] Proceedings, 1877, pp. 52-53.

[48] Ibid., 1878, pp. 133.

[49] Ibid., 1879, p. 230.

was not eligible to membership.[50] This rule, however, did not put an end to all disputes in this regard.[51]

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[50] Proceedings, 1880, p. 462.

[51] Ibid., 1891, p. 3652; Ibid., 1916, p. 11448.

CHAPTER XI

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Every trade union finds it necessary to adopt certain regulations whereby it can enforce its demands. The most important of such measures is the method of collective bargaining,[1] When this method fails the union resorts to strikes and lockouts,[2] the boycott,[3] and the union label.[4] Strike benefits are paid to prevent a member from being forced to accept less than the standard rate of pay. Collective bargaining is said to take place when a union thro its authorized representatives bargains with the employer on behalf of the entire organization or trade collectively, as contrasted with individual bargaining wherein each employee deals alone with his employer. "The ability to require the collective bargain, is the crucial test of unionism."[5]

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[1] Another regulation is the method of legal enactment; legislation, however, has played a less conspicuous role in the enforcement of demands of the Iron and Steel Workers.

[2] The difference between a strike and a lockout is this. A strike is a concerted withdrawal from work by the workmen to enforce a demand. When the employer takes the initiative by closing his shop, a lockout occurs. To give effect to the strike the union attempts to organize all those employed in the mill or factory. The Amalgamated may be termed a defensive organization. It was essentially so in it earlier years. Tho it has

To meet organization with organization, individual employers have found cooperation with each other advantageous. The result has been the formation of great corporations, a merger of individual units into a more complex legal unit.

Developments in the method of collective bargaining in the iron and steel trades have moved pari passu with changes in the area governed by uniform prices. As pointed out at considerable length in a previous chapter,[6] the extent of territory over which the standard rate of wages was binding was gradually enlarged. What was originally a local scale became the basis of district scales, and finally in 1885 developed into a uniform national scale, covering practically all branches of the trade. With the enlargement of the area of the scale

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been by no means a mere "striking machine", strikes have played an important role in its history.

[3] The boycott has been tried on several occasions (National Labor Tribune, April 17, 1886, p. 1, c. 5; ibid., Nov. 17, 1888, p. 4, c. 1; Proceedings, 1888, p. 2357; Ibid., 1906, p. 7554); but this coercive measure has never figured to any extent in the successful outcome of any conflict.

[4] The Association adopted a union label in 1905 (Proc., 1905, p. 7442). It was employed by two companies--the Champion Horse Shoe Company, of Pawtucket, R. I.; and the Kansas City Nut and Bolt Company, of Kansas City, Mo. The results of the adoption of the label have not been as "gratifying" as was anticipated. The product of iron and steel mills is sold to individuals belonging to the capitalistic class who are generally disinterested in the propaganda of organized

certain changes were made in the fiscal machinery of the union. Strikes, at first supported by voluntary subscription, were later financed by the local unions of the district. The uniform national scale was defended by means of establishing a strong central defense fund.

It is the distinction of the Iron and Steel Workers to be the first organization in the country to introduce a system of regular annual conferences, in which joint agreements in the form of sliding scales were made between employers and employed. These scales covered both wages and the conditions of laborers. The present discussion will lend itself to a consideration of this agreement with reference to its (1) history, (2) method of settlement, and (3) success. Under the first of these topics will be set forth (a) the parties participating in the agreement, and such minor details as (b) contents, renewals, and time-limit of the agreement. The method of settlement includes (a) the making of the agreement, and (b) the plans for the adjustment of differences. And finally will be given some estimate of the practicability of such a scheme, and the measure of success which may be attributed to this system as a method for securing industrial peace.

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[5] F. T. Carlton, History and Problems of Organized Labor, p. 117.

[6] See Chapter on the Standard Rate, pp. 170 ff.

1. History of the Agreement.

(A) The system of joint agreements in the iron trade had its beginning in a joint conference resulting in an agreement covering the wages for puddling in 1865. The puddlers had repeatedly made demands upon employers for increases in wages. There had been many strikes, chiefly in the mills around Pittsburgh, in the years previous to 1865. In 1849 and again in 1857 there were extended and prolonged strikes, and after 1857 smaller strikes were numerous.[7]

The conference of 1865 was the desire of the union and the employers alike. The initiative would seem to have been taken by the employers.[8] The puddlers, in concert with representative employers, finally established a scale of prices to be paid for boiling pig iron. The amount to be paid for boiling iron

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[7] For a review of labor conditions in the iron trade previous to union activity, see the account of Miles C. Humphreys, first president of the Puddlers' Union, in the Pennsylvania Bureau of Industrial Statistics, 1878-79, pp. 150-51.

[8] The idea of a scale system of prices was suggested by B. F. Jones, of Jones and Laughlin's American Iron Works, Pittsburgh, and a tentative draft was made by Mr. Humphreys for submission to the employers. (National Labor Tribune, April 14, 1888, p. 2, c. 1-2; Penna. Bureau of Statistics, 1887, p. G2). A copy of the first sliding scale may be found in the National Labor Tribune, Feb. 7, 1874, and in the Penna. Bureau of Statistics, 1887, p. G 15.

ranged from $4 a ton, when iron should be sold for 2½¢ a pound, to $9 per ton, when the price should be 8½¢ per pound. This is the first recorded sliding scale in the United States.[9] The depression following the war reduced prices to such an extent that the scale was soon repudiated. Two years later another joint conference drafted a new sliding scale. This agreement, with slight modification,[10] was not terminated until 1874, when the manufacturers forced a strike for a reduction of wages. The strike lasted during the winter of 1874-75, and ended with the manufacturers individually signing the scale. No longer did there exist a joint agreement between the manufacturers as a body and the puddlers as a body.

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[9] The sliding scale of Feb. 13, 1865, is doubtless the first important attempt at conciliation in this country (See Mass. Statistics of Labor, 1881, p. 10-11). There were no doubt sliding scales in England before this time. S. J. Chapman says: "The first sliding scale was Thorncroft's, which was introduced in 1840" (Econ. Journal, 1903, "Some Thoretical Objections to Sliding Scales". P. 186, note.) Carlyle, writing in 1843, mentions "sliding-scales" (Thomas Carlyle, Past and Present, pp. 36, 180, 242), but he may have had in mind the sliding scales of tariff duties. However, Mr. Webb, (Quoting from a statement furnished by Mr. Daniel Jones, of the Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board, to Professor Munro, and cited in the latter's "Sliding Scales in the Coal and Iron Industries," (1889), p. 141) points out that the sliding-scale arrangement appears to

The iron trade widened and split up into several branches. The advent of steel was marked by the discovery of methods of converting wrought iron into a more durable product. This process was enlarged upon and perfected by the Englishman who put his name to the material known as Bessemer steel. New methods of manufacturing soft steel have enormously enlarged and modified the indus-

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have been familiar to the iron trade as early as the time when Carlyle wrote. "At the time of the great strike of Staffordshire puddlers in 1866"--I am still quoting Mr. Webb--"a local understanding of a similar nature appears to have been in existence". Its introduction into the coal trade of Great Britain dates from 1874, though it was not until 1879, that its adoption became common. (Sidney and Beatrice Webb, History of Trade Unionism, Appendix II, pp. 484-85).

10 A slight technical change was made in 1871, cutting up the divisions of advance or decline into smaller fractions of tenths, instead of quarters, of a cent per pound in the price of pig iron.

In 1908, a further change in the decimal system of computation was made. The card rate was subdivided into twentieths. (Proc., 1908, pp. 8246-47). This modication continued to date.

A copy of the scale of July 23, 1867, may be found in the Mass. Bureau of Labor, 1881, p. 12; also, Vulcan Record, No. 13, (Dec., 1873), p. 36. The scale of April 14, 1875 is contained in the Vulcan Record, No. 16, (1875), pp. 34-35.

try. Tin mills began to be built more extensively in the early nineties, and the manufacture of tin increased by leaps and bounds. The Amalgamated Association clung to the old tradition, and endeavored to include all the new branches in the scale and to cover the whole of the country.[11] Its passion for extension and completeness prevented the growth of geographically sectional societies such as in England and Scotland, or the separation of the steel workers from the iron. And throughout, the Amalgamated Association has abided by it policy of annual conferences and joint agreement to sliding scales.

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(10) The first scale in the finishing departments was a scale for guide mill rolling, April, 1872. A copy of the agreement is recorded by Jos. D. Weeks, in the report of the Mass. Bureau of Labor, 1881, p. 14.

[11] The growth of the scale may be shown by comparing the scales signed for certain years. The scale of 1881-82 was a pamphlet of fifteen pages of rates, and covered fourteen items. In 1890 there were separate scales for iron and steel, the iron scale having thirty-one pages and the steel thirty-four. The Western Scales of Prices for 1916-17 contain fifty-four pages.

(B) Parties to the Agreement.

The original scale was signed by a committee of the puddlers and a like committee which represented the entire group of manufacturers. The strike of 1874 put an end to this practice. Since that date, the union formulated its scale, and presented it for signature to individual employers. In 1882, an association of manufacturers was instituted in Pittsburgh. The avowed object of this organization was "to attend to wages and labor".[12] When the conferences between the union and the manufacturers failed to result in an agreement, the scale was presented by the union to individual firms. Frequently, as for example in 1885, one employer would break rank and sign the union scale, and, altho with reluctance, the rest would follow suit.[13] In 1888, a committee of manufacturers appeared personally before

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[12] The immediate purpose of the formation of an employer's association was to resist the union demand for a $6 per ton boiling rate in 1882; and it was effective in doing this, as the outcome of the "Pittsburgh strike of 1882" bears testimony. It was distinct from the Western Iron Association whose primary function was to fix prices. The organization was known as the Amalgamated Association of Manufacturers of Iron, Steel and Nails; its elective officers were A. F. Keats, president, and Joseph D. Weeks, secretary.(National Labor Tribune, June 17, 1882, p.4, c. 2; ibid., Jan. 24, 1885,p. 4, c. 2). Attention was called to the need of such an organization of employers by such organs as the Iron Age (quoted in the Iron Molders Journal, Sept. 10,

the delegates of the union assembled in convention. The arguments of the employers, however, had little weight, and no general conciliatory agrement was reached. The association of manufacturers was again dissolved, each member being authorized to act in his individual capacity relative to signing the scale. In 1890, the union held a conference with the Pittsburgh Iron Manufacturers, and the scale thus arranged was presented to mills in the west and south for signature.[14]

In 1893, the plan of holding divisional conferences was adopted. There were three divisions: one, in which a conference was held for the boiling department, including also scrapping and busheling, muck mill rolling, and knobbling; another, with manufacturers operating bar, guide, plate, structural, and jobbing mills; and a third, negotiating with sheet, tin and black plate manufacturers.[15] Later, separate conferences were held with the sheet and the tin-plate manufacturers.[16] In 1899, because of alleged dissatisfaction with the Conference Committee, President Shaffer was authorized to request the manufacturers to meet all

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1876) and the Journal of Industry (of Pittsburgh), June 22, 1880.

[13] National Labor Tribune, 1885, issues of May 9, 30, June 6, 13, 20, and 27.

[14] Proceedings, 1891, pp. 3357-59.

[15] Ibid., 1893, pp. 4202-03.

[16] In 1898, the conference on puddling and bar mill prices failed. The matter was referred to a plebiscite of the

the delegates of each craft and settle the scale during the convention. The manufacturers replied that they considered it "impracticable" because of the various combinations of employers then pending.[17]

Such was the state of affairs in 1900. Four scales were drawn up annually by as many divisions of a general conference committee appointed by the annual convention of the Association,[18] in consultation with the several interests involved. The significant fact is that the employers were no longer represented, as they had been, by associations of manufacturers, but by single great companies which had supplanted the individual employers. Thus, one division negotiated a scale for puddling (that is, boiling) and allied processes with the Republic Iron and Steel Company, instead of with the Association of Bar Iron Manufacturers, because that company now included most of the muck and bar-iron mills.[19] A second division made an agreement with the same company covering the prices of iron bars and plates and similar products. A third conferred with representatives of the American Sheet Steel Company, which included nearly

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local membership. The local unions decided to have a joint meeting of all lodges, and have the conference reconvened. Accordingly, 91 delegates from the local unions met the employers in conference on July 31st--an unusual event.

[17] Proceedings, 1899, p. 5598.

[18] These conferees have been appointed by the president, as a rule; in 1896, however, one division elected its own com-

all the sheet steel mills in the country, and no longer with an Association of Iron and Steel Sheet Manufacturers. And finally, a fourth negotiated with the American Tin Plate Company, which had brought together nearly all the tin plate mills. The scales in no case applied to unskilled laborers, not members of the union, nor to that considerable number of employers who did not deal with the union at all, usually employing exclusively non-union men. Uniform annual agreements covering a majority of plants obtained in most branches of the trade in 1900, for example, prices for bar-iron, various special forms of iron, sheet steel, and tin plate. On the other hand, conditions in steel rail mills and in other classes of mills differed so greatly that uniform scales proved impracticable. In such establishments separate agreements were adopted from time to time. These were in the nature of local agreements and were not covered by the general conferences.

Since 1901, and the formation of the United States Steel Corporation, two general conferences have annually been held. The one is known as the bar, and the other the sheet and

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mittee, while the others were appointed by the president, subject to the approval of the delegates. (Procedings, 1896, p. 4995)

[19] Proceedings, 1903, p. 6572.. For this reason, the American Steel Hoop Co. (formerly known as the Carnegie Hoop and Steel Co.) refused to meet in conference with the Republic. Consequently, separate conferences were granted until the Carnegie mill severed negotiations with the union several years later.

tin, conference. The former was held with the Republic Iron and Steel Company, the largest manufacturer of bar iron; the latter, with the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, which was organized in 1903 by the merger of the American Sheet Steel Company and The American Tin Plate Company. In 1906, the independent manufacturers of bar iron, who had previously signed the scale agreed upon in conference with the Republic, organized the Western Bar Iron Association. The Association was composed of twelve independent companies, organized because of the mutual interests involved in the competition with steel.[20] One of the essential functions of the new employer's association was "to act as an organization with the Amalgamated Association and endeavor as far as practical to get a uniform rate and practice."[21] Since that time, the scales arranged with the Western Bar Iron Association and the Republic Iron and Steel Company have been identical. In 1909, the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company severed conference relations with the union; and the sheet and tin conference has since been held with the Western (sometimes known as the Independent) Sheet and Tin Plate Manufacturers, who had previously signed the American Sheet and Tin Plate agreement.

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[20] For a list of these mills, see Proc., 1906, p. 7551.

[21] Letter of James H. Nutt, Secretary of the Western Bar Iron Association to P. J. McArdle, President of the Amalgamated Association, quoted in Proc., 1906, p. 7550.

At present, then, two associatons of manufacturers--the Western Bar Iron Association[22] and the Western Sheet and Tin Plate Manufacturers Association--are organized for the purpose of dealing collectively with labor. Mr. James H. Mutt, sometime trustee of the Amalgamated Association, acts in the capacity of secretary for both employers' organizations. In addition to the function of collective bargaining, these associations at their meetings, held whenever there is important business to transact, act on the tariff and discuss trade conditions, prices, and other topics of common interest. Only those manufacturers who make agreementswith the union are members of either employer's association. Assessments are made by the secretary to meet the expenses of the preceding month on the basis of the number of trains of rolls in each mill. There is but slight difference in the capacity of the mills represented, and each member has one vote.[23] In 1916, the Western Bar Iron Association had fifteen members; the Western Sheet and Tin Plate Association, ten.

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[22] The Republic Iron and Steel Company abides by the Western Bar Iron agreement.

[23] The employers' associations appoint conference committees to represent all the manufacturers who are members. Each employer usually sends a representative. Each committee is headed by Mr. Mutt and is satisfactory to all interests. In 1905, the Republic sent but one official. The representatives of the union are appointed by the president. In recent years there were five from each of the four main divisions. The tin

C. Contents, Renewals, Time-Limits, etc.

The general joint agreements consist chiefly of scales of wages for different classes of work. The agreement fixes first the base rate in each branch of the industry, such as boiling, busheling, etc. This sliding scale with a fixed minimum is based upon the market price of bar iron, and adjustments are made bi-monthly.

The scale is an empiric mechanism, an evolution. The original scale was launched in crude form, and had to be developed later. It was based on a comparison of previous prices. As Mr. Miles S. Humphreys, one of the ariginators of the scale, expressed it, "Iron had never sold below two cents and a half, and the puddlers at the time had no idea the selling price would go below three cents.. The cost of living and the cost of production did not enter into the consideration at all; only a fair proportion of the profits or of the selling price".[24] However, we do find one writer for th official organ of the puddlers trying to determine, in 1874, what the base of the scale should be in terms of the prices of commodities--potatoes, flour,

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house is generally represented by but one or two members. The president, vice president, and secretary are ex-officio members of each conference. Accordingly, in 1916, there were 15 conferees in the sheet and tin, and 13 in the bar-iron, conference.

[24] Interview with the writer, Nov. 30, 1914.

meat, etc.[25] The testimony of Mr. Humphreys is essentially corroborated by Mr. John Jarrett, the second president of the Amalgamated Association. He said, in substance: 'The puddlers realized that the profits of iron manufacturers were enormous and that wages were out of proportion to profits; but they had no actual figures to determine what these profits were. The scale was an experiment; and, tho not based on absolute knowledge, the rate was constantly increased. The union was trying to hit upon a reasonable and equitable proportion. The puddlers in Great Britain got a shilling to the pound of the selling price, that is, one-twentieth, and a bonus increased it to one-sixteenth. American puddlers decided they ought to get one-

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[25] "The great question to be settled when an advance or decline of wages is proposed is, Does the present rate of wages leave the proper margin between the cost of living and what should be the reserve fund? If the usual margin is reduced, then wages should advance. If the margin is too large, then wages could come down without damage... That all parties may be informed in the premises occupied by the boilers and puddlers, we give in pounds and measures the quantity of the nine principal commodities (flour, ham, sugar, tea, molasses, potatoes, rice, coffee, and beef) used for living that the price per ton of boiling would procure at our wholesale houses in each quarter (of the years 1871-74 inclusive), having been careful to make a weekly average, then monthly, and quarterly."--Signed D. P. H. (National Labor Tribune, Dec., 19, 1874, p. 1).

twelfth, because of superior resources and better management. Such were the considerations.[26]

It is significant that the views of the present officials of the union do not greatly differ from these given. Both the president and the secretary hold that the scale is fixed "on a common sense basis". It is a matter of "give-and-take". The Association thro its conference committee endeavors to calculate the cost of production, altho the committee have no exact data, since cost of management cannot be ascertained. Cost of living is considered, in a degree perhaps. The main consideration is this: If the price of iron advances, they feel the men ought to have a "fair" share. Just what is meant by "fair", is uncertain; "they take what they can get"[27]. Accordingly, it is apparent that the scale has not developed in accordance with scientific principles. The scale was not made; it grew. Each generation made its contribution, and helped fight the battles for the next.

The base of the scale has been subject to relatively little change. It has ranged from $4.00 (the lowest) to $5.50 (the highest). The progress due to science and invention is largely reflected in the corresponding minimum selling price. For example, the scale for boiling in 1865 was based on a 2½¢ card; for 1887-88, on a two-cent card; since 1901, on a one-cent card. In the present scale, the differential advance and decline below the 1.30 card rate is small, because the manufacturers claim they are either running the mill at a loss or else they are barely covering expenses and keep the mill running for the sake of the machinery. The union accepts the truth of this state-

26 Interview with the writer, Nov., 28, 1914.

ment. "We know", said one union official, "that at one-cent the manufacturer can't make a profit; it isn't in the business".[28] At 1.3¢, it is alleged, the employer begins to run the plant at a profit, and the differential is greater. Instead of 10 per cent, the advance in wages is nearly 20 per cent, of the increased selling price.

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[27] Interview of the writer with President John Williams, and Secretary-Treasurer M. F. Tighe, Sept. 30, and Oct. 19, 1916. For an example of an estimate of cost of production, see Proceedings, 1895, pp. 4781-82.

[28] A cheapening in price, experience has demonstrated, may in certain instances be the means of enhancing the profit of the employer and, at the same time, reducing wages. For example, the discovery of the great steel ore mine in the Mesaba and other ranges of mountains in the great northwest has had a decided effect in reducing the price of both steel and iron, because of reduced cost of mining and transportation. Previous to these discoveries, steel ore was not found in plenty. These new mines were easily operated and created an abundance of ore in the market. Improved methods of handling were introduced; competition reduced railroad rates and built new railroads; and, consequently, ore buyers were given a cheaper material. This cheaper ore, when converted into pig iron, enabled the manufacturer to sell to steel or iron rolling mills at a cheaper rate, and still retain a greater margin of profit. This cheaper price of pig iron would have the effect of reducing wages to the minimum

Until 1895, the market price was based on the card rate of the Western Iron Association (an organization whose sole function, it appears, was to fix prices). This scheme caused considerable friction, because iron was frequently reported to be selling above this official card rate.[29] In June, 1895, an agreement was made in Youngstown with the bar iron manufacturers that prices should be based on "the average selling price of base sizes of bar iron". This estimate of the average price received for the total product sold during a sixty-day period by all mills represented in the Association fixed the wage rate for the succeeding two months. The manufacturers furnished the secretary of their association with a sworn statement of prices; and, in case of doubt, a committee of the union might examine the employers' books and bills of sales.[30]

The number of mills entering into these settlements has varied. In 1907, only the mills of the Republic Iron and Steel Company and the independent plant of the Union Rolling Mill, Cleveland, were represented in the bar iron settlements. The sheet and tin prices were submitted by the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company. This was sometimes a cause for complaint, since the independent firms alleged that the "trust" at stated periods paid their selling agents $1 per ton "rebate", whereas

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established by the scale. Prosperity in this instance, if unaccompanied by a revision of the scale, would gravitate only to employer. This is another argument in favor of a minimum, to protect the labor against an over-stocked market and corporate greed. 29 Financial Statement of the Amalgamated Association,

their original quoted prices did not include this differential. The union, in rejoinder, said that the American Sheet and Tin Plate Co. had granted the advance to union and non-union mills alike, and thus maintained "the same relative competitive position" as previously. The average prices for 1915 were based on returns from four selected mills in the case of boiling and finishing, and on three plants each for sheet mill and tin plate workers.[31]

The footnotes determine the working conditions. Until 1905, they set certain limits upon output,[32] which was equivalent to restricting hours of labor. At present, they fix prices for "extras", or special classes of articles; such minor issues as shields on furnaces, supply of top buggies, payment for lost time, payment for spoiled materials. The footnotes also prescribe the number of helpers in some branches of the trade, and the source of their wages; the number of rollers to be employed in each mill; the proportion of helpers' wages to that of skilled men in some instances; etc.

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for quarter ending Jan. 31, 1887; National Labor Tribune, Jan. 29, 1887, p. 4, c. 1; ibid., Mar. 31, 1888, p. 4, c. 2.

[30] Proceedings, 1896, pp. 5014-19.

[31] Ibid., 1916, p. 11514.

[32] Since 1905, the policy of limiting output has been abandoned. Practically the only survival of this regulation is a nominal limit placed on the number of heats which a puddler is allowed to make. See Chapter on Restriction of Output.

In the case of steel rail mills, and various other classes of mills not covered by the uniform scale, the local agreements establish sliding scales based either upon the general scales, with allowances for local conditions and peculiarities, or based upon the prices of steel rails and other articles as published in some standard trade journals.

Since the consolidation of the several unions in the iron and steel trade in 1879, the agreement has never been allowed to lapse. It has always been renewed and has steadily increased in scope. The agreement each year has usually represented a compromise between what the union asked and what the employers were at first willing to grant. In addition to the reasons which make this true in every trade agreement there are two reasons peculiar to the Amalgamated Association. The scale is in two parts--the base rate and the footnotes. Since there has been relatively little change in the base rates during the life of the agreement system, anticipated changes come principally through the footnotes. The officials of the union have found it to their advantage to demand a new agreement, even though few changes are expected. Many footnotes are requested, even tho the union leaders have no expectation of their acceptance. Others are presented in the hope that they may be accepted by the manufacturers on their face value or pass thro as "jokers". A footnote once included is with difficulty eliminated.

The first scale was not signed for any particular period. it was simply made effective from a given date--but it was tacit-

ly understood to last for a year at least. Ninety days' notice was required to terminate the agreement. The termination period was reduced to thirty days in the 1867 agreement. In May, 1876, the union submitted to the conference a time-limit of one year to the life of the agreement, and effectively enforced this demand. The puddlers for the first time in the history of the organization enjoyed the assurance of work continuing for one year at least. This was hailed with delight, and the triumph thus scored has endured to the present.

Since 1876, then, the agreement has operated for one year, originally from June 1st to May 31st; and later, from July 1st to June 30th. The union has, from the very beginning, been insistent that the scale shall terminate in the summer, and not during the winter months when the men are least able to offer effectual resistance to employers' demands. Employers would prefer a long-time agreement,--three to five years--since in the history of the agreements there have been few periods of decreasing wages and since they feel that a more settled condition of the trade would obtain under a long term wage contract. The union prefers a one year agreement as the only means of preserving the union intact.

II. The Method of Settlement.

A. The Making of the Agreement.

The purpose of both sides obviously has been to fix in the agreement the prices to be paid and the conditions of employment in so far as they are of interest to the whole trade, and

can be standardized. Uniform scales were adopted wherever practicable. Few matters were left to purely local settlement. Standardized prices could not be effected in steel rail mills, and local agreements had to be adopted to meet the different conditions which obtained in these mills. No price settlement was binding, however, unless it was reported to the General Conference Committee. It was then considered the established price for all mills making the material under similar conditions. No important subject of collective bargaining was left entirely to local settlement.

The uniform annual scales were adopted by agreements between the union and those who represented the employers. As previously stated, the union originally presented the scale to individual employers, then to an association of manufacturers, then to separate groups of manufacturers employed in the same branch of trade, or--in other words--large industrial combinations. Finally after the union defeat by the trust, independent associations of manufacturers were formed to bargain collectively with the union. The constitution of the union defined the methods to be used by the workmen in securing the adoption of the general scales. Any local union desiring a change in the scale must, after a formal vote in its favor, submit it to the national union. The national union, at least six weeks prior to the meeting of the annual convention in May, distributed to the local unions a printed copy of all proposed amendments to the scale. These proposals are discussed in local meetings and delegates come to the convention under instruction as to the wishes of

their constituency. A wage committee, appointed by the president, considers these proposals, and makes recommendations to the convention.[33] It is decided by ballot what demands are to be made in conference with the manufacturers. A two-thirds vote of the delegates is required to recommend a change in the "base" of any existing scale. Nominally the convention adopts a scale, but in practice the terms are subject to modification by conferences with employer.

At the annual convention the president appointed a conference committee to meet the manufacturers. The number of conferees selected to represent the workmen has varied. The prime requisite is to see that each department is adequately represented. This was peculiarly necessary in the early years when all branches met the manufacturers in one general conference. In the divisional conferences, members of the same group were chosen. For example, in 1901, nine represented the boiling department and in conference with the representatives of the Republic Iron and Steel Company (formerly with the Association of Bar Iron Manufacturers) established a scale for boiling iron and the allied processes of scrapping, busheling, muck mill rolling, and knobbling. A second division of the conference committee consisted of eleven members from the bar, guide, plate, and structural departments, and from jobbing mills working pipe iron. This division, in connection also with the

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[33] Previous to 1885, a separate convention--known as the scale convention--was held to arrange the scale to be presented to the manufacturers. It was composed of delegates

representatives of the Republic Iron and Steel Company, adopted scales for a considerable number of different products falling under the heads indicated and for others of a similar character. A third division consisted of nine members of the steel and jobbing mills, who conferred with the members of the American Sheet Steel Company (formerly with the Association of Iron and Sheet Steel Manufacturers). Finally, there was a division composed of nine representatives of the tin and black-plate mills and tinning houses, who conferred with the representatives of the American Tin Plate Company. The national president and secretary were members of each division.

The members of the employers' associations or of the industrial combinations usually send to the national conference one or more representatives from each plant. The number of conferees representing the manufacturers has varied greatly, the large corporations sometimes negotiating thro one or two officials. In 1905, the Republic sent but one official; in 1901, the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company sent but two. At present, the two employers' associations usually have a fair representation of its members. As a matter of fact, however, it is not essential that there shall be an equal number of employers and employees at the conferences. Votes are not taken jointly, but the members of each side stand together and continue negotiations with the other side until an agreement is

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elected in the district conventions. See Chapter on The Standard Rate, p. 199, note. (45)

reached. In connection with each proposal that requires formal action, the representatives of the two sides adjourn for separate caucuses, and, by vote among themselves, decide as to the position which shall be taken. If these two votes fail to result in an agreement, further negotiation in joint conference takes place.[34]

The extent to which conference committees of the union were bound by the instructions of their constituents has been an important feature in the development of collective bargaining among the Iron and Steel Workers. In the early years of the scale convention, the conference committee had no power to act whatever. They were simply "messengers of the Association to carry its dictates to the manufacturers."[35] Later, the committee was given certain limited powers. For example, in 1885, they were instructed by the scale convention to demand the old scale, but, "if necessary, to accept a reduction of ten per cent upon all scales, except the sheet and jobbing mill scales."[36] In other years, the committee was given discretionary power on "extras" and "footnotes", but not on the "base" of the scale.[37]

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[34] In 1901, if one or more of the divisions of the conference committee failed to reach an amicable agreement the general conference met and endeavored to adjust the matter.

[35] President John Jarrett's report to the convention, Proc., 1883, p. 1102.

[36] Proceedings, 1885, p. 1551.

[37] Proceedings, 1887, p. 2144; Ibid., 1888, p. 2263; ibid., 1890, p. 2955; Ibid., 1891, p. 3340; Ibid., 1892, p. 3827.

The Homestead disaster served to accentuate the need of a more liberal policy of bargaining. President Weihe, upon vacating his office, voiced this sentiment in these words: "The aim---of trade unions shoul be to remedy the strike system, b either adopting a method of arbitrating between them and employer, or granting conference committees more discretionary powers to overcome these bitter struggles that have so frequently taken place during the past few years."[38] In 1894, after a spirited discussion, the conference committee was given plenary power.[39] President Garland maintained this authority during his term of office.

President Shaffer was not so successful as his predecessor in preserving the prerogative of the conference committee to have plenary bargaining power. Consequently, as in1900, when full authoriy was withheld, the failure to reach an agreement in conference with employers meant the submission of the point at issue to a plebiscite of the local membership.[40] President Shaffer, in his report to the following convention, deprecated this restriction of the power of the committee,[41] but his elo-

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[38] Financial Statement of the Association, for the quarter ending Oct. 31, 1892.

[39] Proceedings, 1894, pp. 4697-98; Ibid., 1896,p. 5003.

[40] It required two-thirds of the voting membership to insist upon the demands which gave rise to the disagreement. If the local lodges insisted upon disagreement, all the members working in plants affected by the scale must cease work. As a

quence was of no avail. The convention sent to the conferences of 1901 committees bound by instructions to demand that the scale be signed for all mills or none. The steel strike of 1901 was the outcome of this policy--thus demonstrating that the system did not always result in industrial peace. Since 1901, instructions of the convention have been advisory, not mandatory, and the conference committee has been granted plenary power to bargain.

In the case of rail mills and other classes of steel mills not covered by the general agreements above described, scales were adopted by conferences between the local union or unions affected and the individual employers. According to the constitution, the local lodges must formally vote upon proposed changes in scales. The holding of meetings by members of the organization outside the lodge room, for the purpose of "agitating" class legislation was prohibited. A two-thirds majority was required to propose changes in the scales. In each plant there was a mill committee, or two or more committees, representing different classes of work. These committees presented

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matter of fact, there have been few general stoppages caused by failure to reach a settlement, altho negotiations have been, in some instances, greatly prolonged.

[41] Proceedings, 1901, pp. 6033, 6049-50.

[42] Three representatives of the local union or unions were members of this committee (Proc., 1901, p. 6189), having

the proposed changes in the scale to the officers of the company for adoption, and informal conferences for discussion of the terms were held. If an agreement was not reached, the case was referred to the district executive committee of the union,[42] which conferred with the manufacturers. In case of ultimate failure to sign a scale before June 20, all departments of the establishment ceased work at that time.

B. Adjustment of Disputes Under the Agreement.

The Association has consistently adhered to the principle of conciliation, and opposed the method of settling disputes by arbitration. The makers of the original constitution provided for arbitration, but the convention in 1876 readily supplanted it by inserting the word "conciliation".[43] The officials of the union have repeatedly maintained that conciliation was the only equitable method of reaching a settlement, because no outsider understood conditions so well as the two parties involved.

All disputed questions are settled, if possible, in the mills in which they arise. These matters are taken up with the management by the mill committees, usually composed of three

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an equal vote (Proc., 1903, p. 6772) until 1907, when it was provided that they should "act in an advisory capacity only". (Proc., 1907, pp. 7833, 7928, 8053.)

[43] Article 1, section 2, of the original draft read: "The objects of this Association shall be to obtain by arbitration, or by other means that are fair and legal, a fair remuner-

members, who represent the workmen in the different branches of the trade. If the dispute cannot be adjusted by the members in their local capacity, it is referred to the district executive board. Such questions usually relate to the wage scale or to trade usage. There must be no suspension of work while the committee has the matter under consideration. All decisions of the executive committee are binding until reversed;[44] neither

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ation to the members for their labor;---" The idea of arbitration being obnoxious to the delegates, the word "conciliation" was used in lieu of "arbitration".

The early puddlers' union, it would appear, were not opposed to certain methods of arbitration (Vulcan Record, No. 10 (1872), p. 33; ibid., No. 12 (1873), p. 20); but the Amalgamated has been decided in its opposition (National Labor Tribune, Sept. 23, 1883, p. 4, c. 1; ibid., May 31, 1884, p. 4, c. 1; ibid., Dec. 25, 1886, p. 4, c. 1; ibid., July 16, 1887, p. 4, c.4). However, in 1893, in a local agreement with the Illinois Steel Co., of Joliet, Ill., the union was forced to commit itself to the settlement of disputes, "if necessary, by arbitration" (Proc. 1894, p. 4590). This clause was eliminated in subsequent agreements (Proc., 1897, p. 5291). For a similar instance of an arbitration committee on "questions of equity", see Proc., 1906, p. 7569.

[44] The power to terminate a strike is vested in the national executive board.

can an employer refuse to continue any one in his employ under the conditions laid down, nor can any workmen refuse to continue at work on those terms. That there is to be no strike or lockout in case of dispute has been stated to be essential to the very life of an agreement.

In 1901, the Republic Iron and Steel Company requested a plan which would insure their plants continuous operation.[45] Previous to this time, at the expiration of the annual scale on June 30, there was a general stoppage of mills pending scale negotiations. An agreement for calling in conciliators, during which time work should be continued, was adopted.[46] The plan was this: A yearly scale was presented to the Republic Iron and Steel Company by the first of May to take effect July 1. In case of failure to reach an agreement by July 1, one concilator was selected by each side, and the two so selected chose a third. These three conciliators met the representatives of both sides in conference, and tried to effect an agreement. It was understood that mills were to run pending negotiations, and wages beginning July 1 were to be paid during the period in which a settlement was being made.

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[45] James H. Nutt, who has for many years acted as adjuster in bar-iron mills and has been active in the conferences of employers and employees, a sort of buffer between opposing interests, is reported to have persuaded the Republic to arbitrate in case of the failure of the conference to agree; but the union rejected the proposition (Report of the Industrial Commission, 1901, Vol. XVII ,p. 341).

Because of the delay in obtaining a conciliation board to adjust certain differences in 1904, the method for choosing the conciliators was adopted.[47] Each side selected one man, and the third conciliator was chosen in the following manner: Each side presented a list of ten names, from which the other selected five. From these ten names, which were submitted to the two conciliators, they were to choose a third before the adjournment of the annual convention.

Upon the formation of the Western Bar Iron Association, a similar arrangement was entered into, but more specific on all points than the Republic agreement. These were its provisions. A yearly scale was presented by June 1, and a conference held as soon as possible. If no agreement was reached by July 10, the points in dispute were referred to a board of conciliation selected in the same manner as provided for in the Republic agreement. If the conciliation board could not agree within thirty days, the scale was referred back to the conference committee. The books of the company were open for inspection to an examining committee, composed of the three conciliators and two union officials agreeable to the employers. It was understood that mills were to operate, pending negotiations, at the old rate of wages; and that any proposed changes in the scale was to be considered in conference between January 1 and March 15, at which time either side was at liberty to terminate the scale if it so desired.[48]

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[46] Proceedings, 1901, pp.6062-64; Ibid., 1902, pp6327-30. The Illinois Steel Company had such a local arrangement, as early

This scheme was tried out in 1907, and the decision proved disappointing to the manufacturers.[49] A revised conciliation agreement was formulated the following March. Its essential differences from the former plan were these. (1) One conference only was held, and disputed points, instead of being decided by a board of outsiders, were referred to a subcommittee, composed of three representatives of each side. In the event the sub-committee were unable to agree, they might call in a disinterested person to act as conciliator. It was held that the sub-committee could be no more biased than the outsider whom they would select, and would be able to understand the matters submitted to them and thus dispose of them with greater dispatch. (2) Either side might request another conference before calling in a conciliator, provided it had a modified proposition to submit, with reasonable hope of settlement. (3) The time set for a decision was August 1--ten days shorter--made possible by the provision for holding only one conference. (4) The failure to reach a settlement by August 1 did not end the negotiations, unless the conference committee so determined. This plan was not put to a real test, and in 1909 it was abandoned.[50]

Since that time, the agreement has provided for no conciliation board. Otherwise, the terms are essentially the same. A conference is held by July 1st. In case of disagreement, old

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as 1893. See Proc., 1894, p. 4590.

[47] Entered into Feb. 2, 1905. (Proc., 1905, p. 7232).

[48] Proceedings, 1907, pp. 7903-05.

[49] Ibid., 1908, pp. 8237 ff.

[50] Ibid., 1909, pp. 8517-29, 8540.

conditions continue for one month without strike or lockout while negotiations are being carried on. These deliberations may continue longer than one month by mutual consent of the parties concerned. It is understood that there shall be no interruption of work during the life of an agreement. This plan is in effect with both the Western Bar Iron Association and the Republic.

III Success of the Method of Settlement.

The success of the plan of conciliation as a method of adjusting differences between the employer and the employed has been the occasion of considerable comment on the part of several economists. Professor Marshall, in speaking of how far it is possible for frank dealing in a friendly spirit between employers and employed to remove those unfair dealings, and suspicions of unfair dealings, which are the chief causes of industrial war, agrees that "the best method is that of conciliation"; and that, "for the settlement---of a price list for a wide area, a well thought out sliding scale seems to be the best means attainable under out present social conditions."[51]

Conciliation, when thoroughly established and recognized, may pave the way for what may be called the automatic regulation of wages by sliding scales. Sliding scales, while by no means perfect[52], are a step in advance of anything else now in use. The

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[51] Preface to L. L. Price's Industrial Peace, pp. XVI ff.

[52] See Mr. A. C. Pigou's estimate of Sliding Scales, Principles and Methods of Industrial Peace, pp. 137-146.

principle on which they are based is briefly this: wages are to vary according to the selling price of the product.[53] This general principle admits of considerable variety of detail. Under this system, as generally applied, a wage rate is agreed upon for each position governed by the scale, and then a selling price for material is selected as being a fair minimum price. With each percentage of advance in the selling price, a slight percentage of advance is made in the wages of the workmen. The ratios of advance are listed with the advance in material until the probable highest figure in the selling price has been reached. Wages advance and decline in accordance with this scale, until a certain point is reached below which it is agreed wages shall not decline.[54] The employer is free to sell his material lower than this minimum, but he can not reduce wages below it. By this method, then, the laborer shares in the advance and the decline of the price of the product. The minimum, the union holds, protects the laborer from competitive manipulation and from wanton attack.

The chief advantages of these sliding scales may be said to lie on the one hand in their elasticity, and on the other in their automatic action. They admit of adaptation,[55] as we have

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[53] For an exhaustive definition of the sliding scale, see J. E. C. Munro, Sliding Scales in the Coal and Iron Industries", p. 6.

[54] The chief objections to the scale of the South Wales Miners was--in the words of the men--that "the confounded thing had no bottom". (Quoted by W. J. Ashley, The Adjustment of Wages, p. 54.)

[55] Because the principle of the sliding scale holds out

seen, to diversified situations; and as Professor Munro has stated, they "give a steadiness" to trade and to wages.[56] Employers will avail themselves of fresh openings with more vigorous enterprise, if freed from the apprehension of a sudden and forcible cessation of industry. The workmen have reasonable assurance of regularity of employment for a year at least. Jevons maintains, somewhat extravagantly, that the sliding scale, along with the system of arbitration, is to be regarded as a "stepping stone to some still sounder method of partnership and participation in profits which a future generation will certainly enjoy".[57] This conclusion, it seems, cannot be stated without some reserve.

The successful conduct of conciliation, and the continued operation of sliding scales, as will be pointed out later, depend largely upon the relative strength of the organizations

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such great promise of adaptation to different contingencies, Professor Munro has most enthusiastically described it as "the greatest discovery in the distribution of wealth since Ricardo's enunciation of the law of rent". (J. E. C. Munro, Sliding Scales in the Iron Industry, p. 26.).

[56] Munro, pp. 17-18. In that scales, instead of settling disputes, avoids them, certainly they promote trade stability. Francis A. Walker points out that a strike following a period of overproduction may result in clearing the market more thoroughly than would otherwise be done ("The Wages Question", p. 391, footnote); but the fact remains that employers are likely to enter upon contracts with greater confidence, if they have reasonable assurance of no industrial disputes for a twelve-month.

of employers and employed . The way in which the average price is effected by the individual enterprise of a particular employer, in itself, does not tend in the direction of industrial partnership. For a sliding scale does not proceed upon a theory of sharing in profits, but only upon a theory of participation in prices. Employers stoutly maintain that the wages of the men have nothing to do with profits; and any consideration of "costs of production" is excluded from the arrangement of the scales.[58] There are, of course, opposing considerations--the fact that the two organizations meet and effect a mutual arrangement; that price represents an identity of interests between employers and employed; that the difficulty of making known the details of management is met by having accountants, sworn to secrecy, to examine the books of the different firms.

The difficulties attaching to sliding scales are similar in their general characteristics to those of other systems of conciliation and arbitration. These are the possibility that the decision might fail to secure loyal adherence, the contentiousness connected with the discussion of partisan arguments, and the difficulty of determining upon a satisfactory basis and of ascertaining accurate data. These difficulties are reduced to a mini-

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[57] W. S. Jevons, State in Relation to Labor, (1910) p.162.

[58] Price points out (p.87) that the wages of any given period is based upon the selling price of the previous period, and this may not be actually realized in the succeeding period. This accounts for the adjustment of prices every two months in the iron and steel trade.

mum under a sliding scale. The scale once signed is rarely repudiated. Both sides are likely to abide by the decision to which they have willingly agreed. If not, they adhere to it as a matter of honor. The fact that employer and employee meet together in conference to discuss trade conditions, prospects, and ability to pay a fair wage cultivates reason and mutual good feeling. "Hands cannot be clasped that are not extended, and companions are not made of people who never meet."[59] Says Mr. Price, in his excellent work on Industrial Peace; "The value of conciliation lies chiefly in this--that fom its very nature it reduces the element of contentiousness to a minimum, even if it does not dispense with it altogether. And, with this element of contentiousness gone,---the difficulty of arriving at a definite principle and of agreeing upon accurate data---loses half, or more than half of (its) seriousness." There is little question about obtaining accurate data, for the books of the employers are readily open to the inspection of accountants. This familiarity with conditions of production tends to promote intelligent negotiations as to the general wage scale. A conversationalist in the conference room, and reason holding sway, many industriad disturbances have been averted. On the other hand, increasing knowledge of the business and the trade has helped to make the workman more independent. Being enabled to know more exactly what his share ought to be, he has preferred to walk out rather than accept what he felt to be unjust.

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59 Price, (L.L.), p. 72.

Finally, there is the difficulty of fixing upon a basis. In the first instance there must be an agreement with regard to the general character of the basis. In both Great Britain and the United States, selling prices have been adopted by common consent as the suitable basis, and the variations in wages are to follow the fluctuations in prices. In the manufactured iron trade of the north of England, sliding scales were adopted on four occaseons, based on the selling prices of iron, and each time they were abandoned. This was the result of the contention, by the one party or the other, that other circumstances besides mere selling prices should be taken into consideration. The arguments advanced on different occasions were--the relative wages of ironworkers in other districts; the condition of the labor market; alteration in the cost of materials, transportation, etc.; the character of the management of business undertakings; the contraction in the demand for iron; and the cost of living.[60] Professor Munro urged, as to, perhaps, the most important of these contentions, that the scale may, and ought, to take into account those elements in the cost of production which are subject to considerable variations.

One other consideration is met, so far as it seems practicable, by the sliding scale--fluctuations in money value. Certain it is that the appreciation of gold is a disturbing factor

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[60] Price, pp.66,93.

in industrial relations, and that workmen sometimes insist upon nominal wages to the neglect of real wages. An employer who has bought his materials and entered into wage contracts when prices are high, and is compelled to sell his product when prices are low, is at a disadvantage. The automatic adjustment of wages to prices effected by a sliding scale obviates the difficulty occasioned by a general fall in prices. Likewise, the scale would work in favor of the workmen's fair demands thro a depreciation in money value caused by a general[61] rise in prices. Professor Marshall considers[62] that the best simple scale for the iron trade would probably be "based on the excess of the price of a ton of iron of a certain quality over the sums of the prices of the coal and ironstone used in making it"; but, inasmuch as these latter prices are subject to much the same influences as that of iron, he says, "the plan of basing the scale on the price of iron simply seems not to work badly." Money, he thinks, is a bad measure in which to express such an arrangement; the government could, and ought to, publish from time to time "the money value of a unit of purchasing power", and scales should be based on that unit.

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[61] This is true, of course, only in so far as a rise or fall in prices can be said to be "general", in the sense of affecting the exchange of all commodities with exact (or proximate) similarity.

[62] Preface to Price's Industrial Peace, pp. XX-XXI.

When the character of the basis has been settled, there are of course matters of technique to be adjusted. These questions are of this nature. How great a variation in price is to be held necessary to warrant a corresponding variation in wages. How much shall this variation in wages be, and shall it proceed according to a uniform succession or according to a principle of graduation? And lastly, how often shall prices be ascertained, and wages revised? In general, it may be said that these will hardly be arranged on a sound economic basis; but, so far as possible, they ought to be fixed so as not to imperil the stability of wages, nor to give to either side an excessive advantage, thus menacing the stability of trade--two of the chief benefits of a scale. These will have to be decided on their merits; they are essentially judicial in character. Any peace-promoting machinery is of small importance as compared with a friendly spirit.[63]

It has been pointed out by Professor Ashley[64] and others that one great defect in sliding scales lay in the provision for fixing future wages by past prices. His argument against this policy was that future prices are not reasonably certain.[64a] This is no answer to say that, tho past prices determine employers' demand for a commodity, it should not do so. Mr. Pigou's viewpoint seems more valid. He shows that,[65] since the oscillations of

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[63] See A. C. Pigou, Principles and Methods of Industrial Peace, p. 113.

[64] W. J. Ashley, Adjustment of Wages, pp. 56-57; S. J. Chapman, "Some Theoretical Objections to Sliding Scales, Econ. Journal, 1903, pp. 186-196. 64a-- Above, note 58.

[65] A. C. Pigou, Principles and Methods of Ind. Peace, pp. 94-96.

the labor demand lag behind those of the public demand for the commodity in time, wage changes ought to take place after, and not contemporaneously with, the price changes to which they correspond. Only after prices have remained up for some time do employers generally expand their business, and, on the other hand, they hesitate about reducing production when a depression sets in.

These general considerations may be illustrated in the history of the plan of conciliatory conferences and joint agreement to sliding scales as employed by the Iron and Steel Workers. It is the only trade in which the system of sliding scales has continuously existed. They have worked fairly well, tho their successful application to all kinds of work has been by no means uniform. Certain instances of alleged failure, however, can hardly be attributed to the scale per se. The success or failure of the system must be considered in the light of such contributing influences as the character of the union and its leadership, the nature of the industry, and the policies of leading employers in the industry.

The success of the scale which the puddlers enjoyed was never a matter of reasonable doubt. The Sons of Vulcan carried over the scheme into the Amalgamation Association, of which they formed a great majority of the original membership and whose policies for a considerable time they dominated. The Association grew steadily during the first fifteen years of its existence, and the success of the union in the iron industry was continuous and progressive. Mr. Weeks pointed out in 1881 that not since the origin of the scale in 1865 had there been a single instance of

disloyalty to the scale. By 1890 nearly all mills signed the scale. Closed shop was strictly adhered to in the unionized mills at this time.

In the steel industry the union never gained the foothold it enjoyed in the iron industry. In its strongest years it probably controlled not more than half of the steel workers, and hence a majority of the steel mills were never unionized. The production of steel was growing rapidly. Frequent changes were made in the technique of the industry and with each improvement the union demanded the full advantage of the new machinery[66] and tried to keep the per tonnage rate of wages at about the same level as before. Each improvement made possible the substitution of a greater proportion of unskilled labor for skilled workmen. The union did not organize these unskilled men and hence did not have their active support in labor disputes. Finally, the union limit of output provided for a certain amount of production which required neither twelve hours nor eight, so as to make continuous operation of the mills possible. The refusal of the union to properly adjust the limit to meet this condition chafed the manufacturers. As applied to steel manufacture, then, it was not the scale, but the union method of adaptation which was faulty. The growth of the steel business displaced to a great extent the

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[66] Iron Age, as quoted by the National Labor Tribune, May 2 , 1885, p. 4, c. 2.

the iron business. Increased production, introduction of technical machinery on a large scale, substitution of more unskilled for skilled men,--all demanded different policies than those previously pursued by the union. The rules of the Association were inelastic and inadequate.

The iron industry, on the other hand, has experienced no change in technique in forty years, and the same proportion of skilled men dominates the industry. There is an absence of concentration of capital in the iron industry, and few corporations in the Association have more than one mill. English-speaking men still hold the skilled positions. The union membership includes but a small proportion of the workmen, even in union plants, and the agreements cover probably less than half the men employed.

Up to 1890, there seemed to be general satisfaction with the agreement system and the sliding scale. Employers in most cases appreciated the advantages of a standard wage scale, the adjustment of disputes, and the intimate conference relationship. At that time, the steel manufacturers decided to shake off union dominance. Homestead was the battlefield. Here the union and the Carnegie Steel Company met in deadly combat. This ill-advised strike of 1892, one of the most dramatic and tragic episodes in the history of organized labor,[67] disrupted the local branches of the union, and created a state of affairs in which no workman dared join the Association. The writer, like Professor Ashley,[68] "gladly" relieves himself "of the responsibility of pronouncing upon the merits of the dispute" by referring the reader to what he considers an impartial account of the strike in the

[67] For other accounts of the struggle, see article en-

Economic Journal, 1893, from the pen of Professor Taussig.

The advantages accruing to society by the action of the Carnegie management at this time have been set forth, and with undoubted sincerity, by Mr. Schwab on various occasions, particularly before the Industrial Commission, and his arguments are easily accessible; while a less optimistic view of the resulting situation is given by such writers as Mr. Spahr and Mr. Burgoyne.[69] Certain it is, the strike greatly weakened the union, and set the precedent for capitalistic resistance to unionism.

The Carnegie mills were not alone in being non-union; there was a considerable number of plants in the American Sheet Steel Co. and the American Tin Plate Co. (tho a minority in each branch) which the union had failed to organize, in 1901, and the scales signed annually in joint conferences, tho doubtless affecting the wages paid in non-union mills, were agreed to cover only such mills which the company regarded as union. Such was the situation when the United States Steel Corporation was formed, early in 1901.

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titled "Tragic Episode at Homestead in 1892" by Carroll D. Wright in American Federationist, Sept., 1901, p. 333; another, by J. W. Sullivan, "Drama of Homestead", ibid., Nov., 1901, p. 467. Also, Miss Margaret F. Byington's book, "Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town", Chapter I.

[68] W. J. Ashley, The Adjustment of Wages, pp. 154-55.

[69] C. B. Spahr, "America's Working People", pp. 163-66; Arthur Burgoyne's book, entitled "Homestead". For an employer's viewpoint, see J. H. Bridge, "Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company".

The history of the formation of that gigantic capitalistic combination would lead us too far afield to enter upon it here. Suffice it to say that in the steel business there had come to be two groups of great consolidated companies,--one, of which the Carnegie Steel Company was the greater, which produced steel billets, ingots, bars, plates, and slabs for the second group of companies, which turned these billets, etc., into tubes, wire, tin-plate, sheets, and other finished materials. Each group was beginning to feel the need of entering into the business of the other.[70] To prevent this imminent internecine conflict, the financial interests intervened and welded all the opposing interests into one great organization--the United States Steel Corporation. Mr. Schwab, manager of the Carnegie Steel Co., was made president of the combination, which included a great majority of the steel interests of the country.

Three of the great companies with which the Amalgamated had been accustomed to arrange annual scales entered into this combination. The leaders of the union knew empirically the policy of the Carnegie management. They naturally had misgivings as to the future of their organization, and thought they had better take

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[70] Mr. E. S. Mead gives a history of the matter in the Quarterly Journal of Economics, August, 1901. Also, see A. Berglund, The United States Steel Corporation, pp. 62-65

time by the forelock by taking a chance at completely unionizing them. Accordingly, they demanded that the scale be signed for all the mills belonging to the several companies, union and non-union alike.[71] The United States Steel Corporation accepted the challenge of "all or none", and, in the strike that followed, the Amalgamated was badly beaten. The union miscalculated its strength, and exaggerated the probable effect of the strike upon the stock exchange. There was little popular outcry, no panic in the money market, and the strike failed.[72] It was not a strike for wages in the present, but avowedly one to compel complete recognition of the union, so as to influence wages in the future. With the failure of the steel strike, unionism was completely driven from the steel trade, the only steel mills which remained union being the few scattered shops of the Republic Iron and Steel Company and several small individual establishments. In 1909, the policy of "open shop"[73] in all mills was declared by the United States Steel Corporation. The union made a desperate fight,[74] but was powerless to resist in the face of a billion-dollar trust. The corporation, by a well established system of espionage, has succeeded in crushing any attempt to organize any of its employees.

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[71] When consolidation became the order of the day in 1900, the Union assumed its former aggressiveness and added this provision to its constitution: "Should one mill in a combine or trust have a difficulty, all mills in said combine or trust shall cease work until such grievance is settled."

[72] An account of the incidents of the strike may be gleaned from the proceedings of the union, and the current issues of

The statement is frequently made that a strong employers' organization facilitates the introduction and maintenance of the method of collective bargaining. This is true only when the union is equally as strong, or when capital is ready to adopt it. The big steel strike would show that the combination of capital may enormously strengthen capital in its resistance, so long as it wishes to resist. The alternative policy of the corporation has been known as one of profit-sharing; a scheme has been devised for the acquisition of a limited amount of stock in the corporation by the employees.[75] The union has been ousted from the steel mills. It is doubtful indeed, however, whether the steel company realizes the

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The Amalgamated Journal.

[73] The union, altho adhering to the policy of a closed shop, organized in 1904 a secret central lodge, the membership of which was made up of union men who were allowed the privilege of working in non-union mills for the purpose of "sowing the seed of unionism". This is a policy of closed shop governed by expediency.

[74] An account of the struggle is contained in the Amalgamated proceedings of 1910 and of 1911; in the columns of the National Labor Tribune; in the current issues of the American Federationist; et al.

[75] An abstract of the scheme is found in A. Berglund, The United States Steel Corporation, pp. 90-95, and in Boris Emmet, Profit-Sharing in the United States (United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin #208, Dec., 1916), pp. 148-57.

end for which unionism is designed to effect by means of this alternative policy. Nor is it quixotic to entertain the belief that captains of industry, after insistently fighting unions until they are tired, are likely to join hands again in conference and establish joint agreements on a larger scale than has hitherto been experienced.[76] Society may do well to quit harping about the interests of the consumer and try--if only as an experiment--to think of the producer.

In closing, it may be well to state what advantages employers find in dealing with the union today. The union controls chiefly the iron mills of the Western Bar Iron Association, the independent sheet and tin mills, and a number of specialty plants. These manufacturers consider it desirable to make agreements with the Amalgamated for two reasons. In the first place, conditions in the iron industry have changed very little in many years. There are the same relative number of skilled men in the trade, and these more skilled workmen largely compose the union membership. The most important reason, however, is this. Employers have recognized in the union an effective instrument in keeping down the radical element in the industry. Various attempts to disrupt the Association and effect an industrial unionism have taken place in recent years. Some employers admit that they consider an agreement with the union covering the skilled operatives

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[76]See articles in The American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1912--particularly, "The Harmful Effects of Industrial Combinations", by John Williams, and "The United States Steel Corporation and Labor", by John Fitch.

chiefly as a safeguard against a more democratic union which might force terms for all in the mill. The conservative policy of the Amalgamated makes a positive appeal to those employers who recognize the union. Too, the secretary of both employers' organizations, Mr. James H. Nutt, having served both the union as well as the interests that now employ him, is a large factor in the continuance of the agreement. He is a gentleman who commands the respect and confidence of both sides, and takes a somewhat neutral stand between radicals of either party; and, in case of dispute, he can act as judge rather than as attorney for either plaintiff or defendant.

VITA

Jesse Robinson was born in Boston, Pennsylvania, February 2, 1889. He prepared for college in the high school of the neighboring city of McKeesport. In 1907 he entered Allegheny College, from which he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1911, graduating with Phi Beta Kappa rank. During the spring of 1911, he was principal of public schools in his home town. From 1911 to 1913 he was principal of the high school at Easton, Maine. He passed the Oxford responsions in 1912, and was eligible for appointment as a Rhodes scholar from the state of Maine. During the summer of 1912, he was instructor in history in Allegheny College. In 1913, he entered the Johns Hopkins University, and has since been enrolled as a graduate student in political economy, political science, and history. From 1913 to 1917 he held a University Scholarship.